Winter 12-14-2012

Countering Youth Incarceration: Community Strategies in New Orleans and Cape Town

Ariel Marshall
asmarshall@usfca.edu

COUNTERING YOUTH INCARCERATION:
Community Strategies in New Orleans and Cape Town

Ariel Marshall
November 2012

Countering Youth Incarceration:
Community Strategies in New Orleans and Cape Town

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

in

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

By
Ariel Marshall
November 2012

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this thesis has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Approved

_____ _____
Advisor Date

_____ _____
Academic Director Date

_____ _____
Dean of Arts and Sciences Date

Abstract

This research project looks at community-level remedial strategies addressing high youth incarceration and recidivism rates in the cities of Cape Town and New Orleans. Working within a theoretical framework of structural violence, I argue that the dominant discourse of Criminal Justice is based in punitive and retributive methodologies that have severe and long term implications for the psychological and social well being of detained youth, as well as the communities to which they return after imprisonment. My aim was to take a 'bottom-up' approach and examine the community-based projects in the two cities, which are developing counter-hegemonic knowledge and practices based on the experiences of youth themselves and their base communities. The findings suggests that there are strong similarities between the community-based methods in Cape Town and New Orleans, in which elements of restorative justice are utilized towards enhancing positive youth agency and civic engagement to reduce recidivism. The thesis contributes to a growing body of research that promotes individual, community and policy development informed by the experiential knowledge of communities who are impacted by the increasing criminalization of youth, and particularly youth of color.

Countering Youth Incarceration:
Community Strategies in New Orleans and Cape Town

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Acknowledgements & Appreciation……...5

II. Introduction to the Research…….....6

III. Literature Review: *Problems and Remedial Responses*…….…….22

IV. Methodology: *"Respect, Trust, Attention"*……53

V. Research Findings in Cape Town: *Who is Heard, Who is Listening*?...…….....68

VI. Research Findings in New Orleans: *"We Won't Bow Down"*……..……..96

VII. Discussion of the Findings: *"When People Come Together"*……108

VIII. Bibliography…….120

IX. Appendices…….

- **Appendix 1: Maps and Diagrams**
- **Appendix 2: IRB Permission letter**
- **Appendix 3: Pollsmoor Prison Permit**
- **Appendix 4: Youth Inmates'Artwork and Writing**
- **Appendix 5: Signed IRB Interview Consent Forms**
- **Appendix 6: Interviews from Cape Town**
- **Appendix 7: NGO Internal documents, Cape Town and New Orleans**
- **Appendix 8: Photographs, Cape Town and New Orleans**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT & APPRECIATION

To my parents, Fred and Kimbal; for fostering my curiosity and creativity despite my equal proclivity for mischief (which could easily have kept me ensnared in the 'correctional' system). Thank you for allowing me to explore and assert my own voice.
I know how lucky I was, and still am, to have your support.

To my thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, with enormous gratitude. Your wisdom, patience and insight have alternately inspired, calmed and encouraged me. Thank you for your guidance.

To my fellow MAIS students, for being in this together, and for the countless exchanges of humor, advice, venting and motivation.

To the inimitable staff at Young in Prison; Nkosinathi, Owen, Kholofelu, Vuyo, Rozerie, Mel, Tarisai, and all of you who I met briefly; thank you for sharing your stories and your perspectives with me. I could not have done this research without you.

To Motebang, Mbe, Akhona, Chandra, Johnny, Shaun and all the new members of Young in Prison's Post-Release Program, thank you for trusting me with your thoughts and experiences. My research and my 'real work', is truly for you and all the youth who need not be in prison to learn that your views count. They do.

To the Mendocino County Youth Project, particularly Joanna Olson, for giving me the opportunity to develop creative problem-solving projects with youth in crisis.

To Marcel, Anna and Kathleen, who weathered the storms of the American criminal justice system together; for including me in your struggles and triumphs. This is for you too.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

"Robbing is easy, but not when it runs out. When you stab someone you don't feel it but later you start to feel a pain about it, hurt in my heart. It's not nice to think about. I wouldn't like it if someone stab me just for money. It's nice to be with my friends but when the money finishes everyone is fighting. Then it's not fun anymore. I rather like to have choices (sic)."

–Johnny, formerly incarcerated youth, Cape Town

I. Development of the Research Project

A human cage; bare, with concrete and metal fixtures. One small window of natural light, gridded by bars. Six steps in any direction. Distortion of time marked by meals and brief trips to the yard. Solitude. A constant sense of regret, panic, despair, and reflection. Internalization of criminality. Medicated, physically shackled. Loss of mobility. Loss of identity. Loss of choice.

These experiences were communicated to me through letters from prison, written by my close-friend's younger brother, whom I have known since childhood. He was initially incarcerated from the ages of fourteen to eighteen. Upon his release as a legal adult, he struggled to find his bearings within social constructs that had become unfamiliar to him. He was overwhelmed by the demands of 'adulthood', and under-prepared in terms of life skills. During his period of probation he was expected to comply with post-release institutional mandates, but lacked guidance from his parole officer[1]. My friend had the support of his family, yet had no employable skills and no work history, due to his four years of incarceration. He struggled to adjust from the institutional rigidity of prison life to the realm of autonomous decision-making. Several times he asked to be returned to detention, claiming he felt more comfortable in that familiar environment. With limited confidence, undeveloped agency and a deep sense of social alienation, my friend used drugs for coping and as a means of income. After a succession of minor offenses (mainly drug-related), he was again arrested at the age of twenty and sentenced to seven years in adult prison. The sentence length was predicated on his earlier criminal record.[2]

Throughout my friend's incarceration, especially as a juvenile, his family was largely uninformed about critical information, including the administration of medications, disciplinary measures, and options for support services. His mother and sister were proactive in seeking ways to ameliorate his imprisonment, showing their support through regular visits and communication.

---

[1] Traditionally, the role of parole officer was closer to that of a social worker; assisting with reintegration challenges. Now the position resembles law-enforcement, with an emphasis on surveillance and accountability. This shift began in the 1990s with federal budget cuts for parole-officer training, compounded by case-work overload from prison-overcrowding, a direct result of the 'War on Drugs' legislation (Thompson 2008, Maruna 2004).

[2] He never physically harmed another person in his 'criminal' actions.

Throughout these years I exchanged letters with him. In doing so I gained some inside perspective on the dismaying dimensions of penal protocol, as well as the insight that prison is widely referred to by inmates as 'the school of crime'. He described a strict structure of gang affiliations and prison-protocol requiring a high degree of anti-social, often violent, means of self-protection. Initially my friend's letters conveyed despair, frustration, and self-destructive impulses, including attempted suicide. Over the years, however, I witnessed a gradual change in his mindset and outlook. He discovered various resources for self-development; non-profit workshops and skills training courses, religious services, music and language lessons, and academic correspondence classes sponsored by his family.

In essence, he became engaged in a process of rehabilitation. In this sense, my friend had access to education and the constant loving support of his family who encouraged his self-development, many more *protective factors*[3] than most incarcerated youth have. Post-release, he gained acceptance to a four-year program in molecular-cellular biology at a state university, and through his own merit secured employment doing lab science research. He admitted with humor that the structure and demands of formal education reminded him of prison, but having the added benefit of social rewards. Yet, despite his obvious accomplishments, my friend still struggles with interpersonal relationships, lack of self-confidence and anxiety from public stigma about his past; all directly or indirectly a result of having been incarcerated for the duration of his teens and early adulthood.

The Deviance -Criminality Continuum

It was not until some years later, while I was working as a youth crisis counselor, that I gained more insight into the profound implications of incarceration on youth development. I realized that the lack of (or negative) youth-development could also contribute to the exacerbation of what criminologists call *risk-factors*, which are associated with youth delinquency. I noticed that many of the young people with whom I provided counseling for personal trauma, neglect, abuse, and bullying, exhibited the most unpredictable, disruptive and volatile behavior, and were consequently the most likely to come into contact with the correctional system. Many of these students were in a cyclical relationship with the juvenile detention system; on probation, breaking probation, running away, getting caught with drugs,

[3] All italicized words are defined at the end of this chapter; See Index of Terms.

'giving attitude' to parents and teachers, and generally refusing to cooperate with authority figures in their lives. These young people were often accused of 'deviant' behavior, a charge that typically conflates behavioral unconventionality (deviance) with delinquency (criminality) and results in punishment of the child. Increasingly, I met with teachers and parents who generally approved of sending youth to 'get a hard lesson' in juvenile detention facilities, hoping to deter further deviance by locking them up. This is not to suggest that parents or school personnel wanted the youth to suffer, but rather, may have been motivated by the belief that incarceration would scare the deviance out of them.

Research suggests the contrary, however, in that the experience of detention is not only an ineffective deterrent for youth, but has shown to be seriously harmful, particularly for those who suffer from mental illness, emotional trauma, behavioral disorders and addictions. Numerous studies have shown that repeated contact with the correctional system is extremely detrimental, and more so for young people with very few protective factors in their lives.[4] This scenario can be described as *iatrogenic*, meaning that the intended 'cure' for a problem results in a worsening of the original symptoms. In this case, incarceration can reinforce risk-factors that may lead to increased chances of *recidivism,* suggesting that the experience of incarceration is itself *criminogenic*.

The Appeal of Gang-Affiliation

Many of the youth I worked with were gang members. Their levels of membership ranged from 'wearing colors' associated with the gang, to the extreme of 'jumping' rival gang members with the sole intention of inflicting bodily harm. Knife-fights often took place in the campus bathrooms or after school in the parking lot. Drug-use and trafficking were also common occurrences at school. Such activities seemingly justified increased campus surveillance and police presence, which resulted in regular arrests at school. Yet gang-membership did not subside, it only grew, as evidenced by the surge in violence and drug violations irrespective of the number of arrests made. Why the appeal of gang membership? This may seem a simplistic question, but it carries nuanced inferences that are less obvious. Initially, I suspected that it had to do with a sense of belonging, security, connectedness, and rebellion. But I was baffled by the

[4] Scott & Steinberg, 2010; Gatti, Tremblay & Vitaro, 2009; Dodge, Dishion & Lansford, 2006; Berk et al 2003; Warr 2002.

related costs. Why would so many youth (and adults) risk injury, death and incarceration to maintain membership? How do such extreme 'cons' fail to outweigh the perceived 'pros'? I began asking youth in counseling what they thought and felt about these issues. Responses varied from wanting to 'fit in', feeling that 'it's exciting', and, 'feels safe/powerful/important'. What surprised me most was not their specific answers but the repeated expression of incredulity that I would want to know their opinions. Being, as they were, accustomed to being dismissed as 'bad kids' (in their own words), further disclosure revealed an oft-repeated desire 'to be treated as important, to be respected, to be listened to', which many claimed to attain with membership in a gang.

I wanted to better understand, without prescriptive judgment, how youth might gain the same desired values they attain with gang association in alternative ways that do not result invariably in injury, death or incarceration. I am not suggesting that all youth would want such alternatives, or would find anything else to be as appealing. However, it seems to me that any efforts to mitigate youth violence and crime must be rooted in pragmatic solutions that are directly related to the specific needs and desires of youth, while linking directly to the problems as youth themselves define them. I began to think about the intersection of identity-formation, violence and punitive methodology as prevalent factors in the escalating criminalization of youth around the world. As I continued to seek understanding of these issues, I was faced with a new set of questions; what types of correctional environments and methodologies engage the direct perspectives and ideas of the youth themselves? Are there intervention strategies developed and operated in the communities where these youth live, and if so, how are they operated? Are youth responding to and participating in efforts to mitigate the trend of youth incarceration? Over time, I developed this study in an effort to find answers to these questions.

II. Chapter Outline

The remainder of this chapter provides a broad overview of the general framework in which I situate the thesis problem. I indicate how these issues are occurring in two particular sites, Cape Town and New Orleans, explaining why and how I conducted a comparative analysis between them. I briefly describe the actors involved, before coming to the focus of this study; what is being done to address these issues at community levels. I introduce my thesis questions and explain how they were developed, and why I sought the answers from locally produced areas of

knowledge. I present the setting, sample and methodology of my research in brevity, as they are each explored more thoroughly in further chapters. I discuss various theoretical perspectives to help explain the scope and dimension of intersectional themes in a universal paradigm. I then specify the ways this study can help enhance understanding of rehabilitation and reduction of recidivism by drawing on knowledges from outside of the dominant *discourses* on these subjects. Further, I identify the key ways in which this research may contribute to academic and political fields as well as policy-analysis. Finally, I include an index of terms that appear frequently in this paper.

III. Statement of the Problem: Criminalization of Youth

Currently, there are an unprecedented number of young people in detention centers, jails and prisons; more than one million youth are imprisoned around the world [5]. The United States leads this trend, with 336 of every 100,000 youth in a locked facility; nearly five times the rate of South Africa, the second highest in the world, with 69 per 100,000 youth incarcerated.[6] Until this year, the United States was the only remaining country in the world to sentence youth under the age of eighteen (as young as eleven) to life sentences without the possibility of parole; a longstanding practice that was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in June of 2012.[7]

The United States is one of only two countries, along with Somalia, that has not ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), an international standard that explicitly condemns life imprisonment without the possibility of parole for juveniles.[8] In the U.S., individuals under the age of eighteen are not permitted to vote, serve as juror, serve in public office, nor buy alcohol or cigarettes. These restrictions are based on recognition of neurological underdevelopment, insufficient cognitive and behavioral maturity and parental sovereignty as critical factors overriding autonomous decision-making for juveniles. Yet this maturity distinction is bypassed in the criminal justice system, as youth eighteen and younger can be charged and sentenced as adults. Increasingly, juveniles are also serving time in adult

---

5 Young in Prison. Web, 2012. www.younginprison.nl

6 Mendel, Richard. *No Place for Kids: The Case for Reducing Juvenile Incarceration.* Baltimore, Maryland: The Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2011.

7 Childress, Sarah. Supreme Court Bans Mandatory Life Terms for Kids: What it Means. *New York Times*. June 25, 2012. Web. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/criminal-justice/supreme-court-bans-mandatory-life-terms-for-kids-what-it-means/

8 Amnesty International. *This is Where I'm Going to be When I Die': Children Facing Life Imprisonment Without the Possibility of Release in the USA*. London: Peter Benenson House, 2011.

prisons.

South Africa ratified the UNCRC in 1995,[9] and implemented the Children's Act legislation in 2005.[10] The latter reinforces South Africa's commitment to the UNCRC and lays out additional considerations for children in South Africa, further expanded by the Children's Amendment Act 41 of 2007, and the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008.[11] International protections on children's rights, such as the UNCRC, are based on a premise, which "recognizes that young offenders have a special potential for rehabilitation and change. It is not that young people should not be held accountable for their actions. It is that this accountability must be achieved in ways that reflect the offender's young age and his or her capacity for change."[12]

International standards emphasize that in all actions concerning children, the main consideration should be the child's best interests. In the case of children who come into conflict with the law, "a primary objective should be maximizing the potential for the individual to be reintegrated into society and for him or her to be able to assume a constructive role in it."[13] The original purpose of Juvenile Courts and separate procedural justice systems for youth in the United States and South Africa was to ensure rehabilitation services for incarcerated juveniles. However, beginning in the 1980s, there was a considerable shift in the American criminal justice methodology, from *restorative* to *retributive* policies for youth in correctional systems.[14] Mandatory sentencing and more severe punitive standards have gradually and predominantly replaced the former emphasis on rehabilitation.[15]

Having established the intensifying trend of youth incarceration as a fundamental and universal problem, a critical question remains; why this is happening? Critical factors are briefly outlined in this chapter, and are explored in more detail in the literature review and through analysis of the research findings. The intersectionality of risk-factors have been identified by scholarly theory and research studies in the realms of environmental, sociological, economic and political development. Related to this research project, some of these factors include; pervasive

---

[9] South Africa's First Supplementary CRC Report To The United Nations Committee on The Rights of The Child. November 2007. Web. http://www.crin.org/docs/resources/treaties/crc.23/southafrica1NGOreport.pdf

[10] Children's Act 38 of 2005. Web. http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/2005-038%20childrensact.pdf

[11] IBID.

[12] UN Conventions on the Rights of the Child:http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm

[13] Amnesty International. *This is Where I'm Going to be When I Die': Children Facing Life Imprisonment Without the Possibility of Release in the USA*. London: Peter Benenson House, 2011.

[14] Scott & Steinburg; 2010; Petteruti, 2009; Shook & Sarri, 2008; Morris & Rothman, 1998.

[15] Mandatory-sentencing entails a fixed length of sentence for a specific offenses, irrespective of the circumstances surrounding the crime

violence, *institutional racism*, inadequate provision of public education, poverty, unemployment (lack of formal education or vocational training), urban dislocation, *dispossession by accumulation*, political *marginalization,* along with disproportionately punitive and discriminatory legislative policies. The layers of significance and consequence in this problematically tangled web form a critical context to this research study, but are secondary to the discussion of remedial tactics to counter these problems separately and collectively.

IV. Need for Research

There are a multitude of research studies in the field of criminology, many of which argue that rehabilitation and reintegration interventions ought to consider the intersectional sociological, economic and even geographical factors affecting patterns of violence and crime. Many were developed with the primarily aim of policy-analysis and prognosis within the overarching *criminal justice* and *correctional systems*. There is also a wealth of literature drawn from sociological and educational frameworks, providing qualitative data and meta-analysis to suggest underlying causes of youth-violence and recidivism. The majority of these studies focus on dimensions of the 'problems', and to a lesser degree address potential remedies in the realms of legislation, education and non-profit organization initiatives. Many are directed at lobby-groups and policy-makers, pushing for substantive reform and change in these areas. However, there is a dearth of studies looking specifically at the remedial perspectives and practices produced by local, cultural knowledge in community-based forums. Likewise, there is sparse research directed specifically at the ways in which young people are participating in the implementation of remedies pertaining to youth incarceration.

Within this realm of inquiry there are two parts to the problem; one is a social factor, the other is a knowledge factor. The social problem is the increasing criminalization of youth leading to incarceration. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that this is a systemic and discriminatory problem that is escalating in scope and scale, with societal repercussions that are both explosive and latent. Recognizing the urgency of this issue, there is an ever-increasing array of evaluative studies seeking to define the nature of the problem. Most recommendations for amelioration of this social problem tend to concentrate along binaries of punitive justice versus restorative justice methodologies. The knowledge problem is one of discursive formation, in which the dominant discourse of 'punishment and, or rehabilitation' considerations is situated at the center of a

'correctional' continuum. This normative framework lacks the inclusion of local knowledges that incorporate restorative and *distributive* aspects to the scope of correctional theory. These bodies of knowledge and practice are often produced by the actors who are most impacted by youth incarceration, and who are seeking to develop locally relevant remedies.

V. Responses to the Problem at Grassroots Levels

In response to the erosion of rehabilitative services within criminal justice systems of South Africa and the United States, alternatives have begun to emerge at community-levels. Ida Dupont, a researcher who engages inmates in Participatory Action Research, suggests that "(t)here is a growing societal trend in favor of community-based solutions to crime and delinquency including restorative justice programs, community justice centers, and harm-reduction programs."[16] In the United States, non-profit organizations and civic programs have independently developed correctional theories and practices, particularly where public policies and services are failing to address critical social development issues.

Everywhere that youth are incarcerated, their families and communities are directly impacted as well. Concerned members often form groups and organize in search of solutions to these problems, yet they rarely have the resources to effectively sustain them. Furthermore, the gravity of issues affecting communities burdened by severe poverty and underdevelopment, marked by violence, fragmented social capital, a lack of infrastructure and political efficacy, may nullify or overwhelm nascent remedial efforts. Nevertheless, such efforts yield critical insight and valuable methodologies as to the complex dynamics of the problems and of a given community's specific needs. This study seeks to uncover some of the ways that remedies are formulated, developed and implemented at community-levels in two places where there is salient evidence of the problems reviewed formerly, as well as a surge in remedial strategies informed and driven by the impacted communities.

VI. Thesis Problem

This study aims to contribute to the discussion around correctional, rehabilitative and reintegration remedies by emphasizing locally produced knowledge in Cape Town and New

[16] Dupont, Ida. Beyond Doing No Harm: A Call for Participatory Action Research with Marginalized Populations in Criminological Research. *Critical Criminology*, Vol 16 (July 2008). Page 203.

Orleans. Both are urban centers having pervasive examples of the salient problems, as well as having a range of remedial practices at community-levels. The parallels between both sets of 'problems' are significant, as are the ideological and methodological applications of 'remedies', however they differ somewhat in logistical development of the latter. This study aims to develop a constructive, comparative analysis toward better understanding of how community-organizing creates local solutions and what kinds of social capital they draw from.

Cape Town and New Orleans share the unfortunate distinction of having the highest incarceration rates, per capita, in the world. Correlating crime and homicide rates reveal chronic and endemic violence as a major issue facing young people. This is also, explicitly, an issue that involves racial marginalization; prominent mainstream media and public policies sensationalize youth crimes, while regularly criminalizing youth of color, predominantly Black males between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five. This is a class problem as well, with the majority of youth arrestees coming from low-income backgrounds, and from a small number of working class neighborhoods.

In a global context, both places are cosmopolitan cities in developed countries that have extreme disparities in economic and political distribution of power. This scenario gives rise to sub-systems of sociological and political experience among under-developed populations. People of color have been systematically marginalized by racialized politics and *disenfranchised* by exclusionary economic development practices. The unequal distribution of rights and resources is an historically-established precedent in New Orleans and Cape Town. The majority of urban, economic and political development in the twentieth century, in both locations, was orchestrated by a minority of white, wealthy and powerful actors to deleterious effect on entire populations of people of color, mainly African-Americans and Black Africans. These effects included, but were not limited to: racial and class-based discrimination, disadvantageous urban districting, forced spatial dislocation, restricted access to public services, and significant impediments to political and civil right. Racial segregation was legally mandated in both regions until the 1960s when Jim Crow laws were abolished in the U.S. South, and until 1994 when apartheid laws finally ended in South Africa

The dismantlement of institutional racism was a protracted struggle in both cases, critically advanced by concerted coordination among the disenfranchised populations to gain political equality. In South Africa, small social justice movements grew into formal political

formations. In the American South, the civil rights movement, carried out by people of color and civil rights activists, was largely mobilized and led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Afro-American National League. In both cases, the trajectories for social change have grown from sources of everyday resistance and were fueled by community-mobilization efforts towards the development of political identity and democratic participation.

VII. Research Questions

The thesis questions emerged from my growing awareness about locally produced responses to the issue of youth incarceration. I wanted to learn how local level actors in New Orleans and Cape Town are addressing the issues of youth incarceration and recidivism. This study identifies their different definitions of the problems and their practices in trying to remedy them, individually and collectively. Critically, my research examines *who* are forming the definitions of the problems and solutions, and how youth themselves are engaged in this process. My thesis questions are; *How do local actors who are working to mitigate youth crime, incarceration and recidivism define and frame the problems? How are community members involved in developing 'remedies' to these problematic issues; what are their definitions and practices?* I placed particular emphasis on local epistemologies that relate to civic participation, notions of rehabilitation, discipline and punishment, the ways space, communicative expression, and the ways that social capital are utilized to counter youth violence, incarceration and prison recidivism.

VIII. Theoretical Framework

In describing the crisis of escalating youth incarceration, I draw from the writings of George Frederikson and Johann Galtung in order to apply the concept of structural violence as a major dynamic of power and social-control. Related to structural violence, I discuss elements of direct violence, informed by Frantz Fanon's and Henry Giroux's writings. Although these authors' theories do not provide a thorough fit to my thesis topic, certain threads of thought help understand the complexities of direct violence as an expression of agency in the volatile nexus of discriminatory public policies and *institutional racism* that debilitate or criminalize youth of color. I present Angela Davis' thoughts on the universal dilemma of a growing carceral system,

with its attendant interests in perpetuating and expanding the doctrine of punishment as an exclusive and normative form of social control.

The writings of Michele Foucault provide a theoretical understanding of punitive discourse as a means of decentralizing power, and thus control, over incarcerated individuals even beyond their period of imprisonment, through internalized messages of punishment and subjugation. By expounding on these dynamics of violence, I seek to identify the way in which proposed remedies acknowledge, address or struggle with loss of personal agency and political identity as a result of structural violence. I argue that youth, and young Black men in particular, are increasingly stripped of their self-agency and potential for positive civic engagement by punitive methods of social control at the locus of educational and criminal justice systems. The central argument of this paper asserts that there is a critical process of *social production* and cultural *re*production occurring at community levels in the efforts to generate opportunities for individual agency, and thereby greater *collective efficacy*. These efforts confront, and attempt to dissolve, structural impediments that historically and currently exclude the poor and people of color from full political participation.

IX. Contributions of This Research to Empirical Theory

This research addresses concerns at a policy level around the need for alternatives to locking up young people. The urgency of ballooning youth incarceration rates is beginning to garner significant attention in public and policy-making realms. The federal Youth Promises Act introduced legislation endorsing alternatives to incarceration for nonviolent youth offenders, such as community-based courts and correctional practices. Recent voter opposition to 'three-strikes' laws indicates growing public awareness about the economic and social implications of fixed sentences, at high fiscal and ethical costs. Although there is a steady stream of sensationalized media about horrifying crimes committed by juvenile offenders, mainstream media sources increasingly also feature articles that challenge the current juvenile justice system and the trend of sentencing youth to adult prisons. [17] Many of these publications are asking

[17] http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/27/us/news-analysis-ruling-reflects-rethinking-on-juvenile-justice.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0
http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/07/opinion/the-wrong-approach-to-discipline.html?_r=0
http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/02/us/phoenix-program-gives-texas-juveniles-intensive-counseling.html?pagewanted=all

critical questions such as, 'why is this happening' and 'is the juvenile justice system dealing with youth appropriately?' and 'what else can be done to address the problems? How are other strategies working? This research adds to the burgeoning body of knowledge, (theoretical, applied and empirical), that seeks to challenge the dominant discourse of the juvenile justice system with its heavily punitive focus and lack of distributive or restorative justice practices.

The long term implications of criminalizing youth, particularly in the United States, are projected to be catastrophic for the social, economic and political equilibrium of a democratic system. There is an imperative opportunity for expanded research not only into the 'what' and 'why' of this crises, but also crucially into the 'how' and 'who'. A thorough examination of the alternatives to youth incarceration must involve the actors invested in such practices, and the intervention practices that they have developed. This research seeks to contribute to the inclusion of the latter, while recognizing the need for further research.

X. Specificity and Limits of the Research

Distributive and restorative justice approaches encourage healing for both offenders and victims. While I acknowledge the critical importance of both, this research focuses specifically on the experiences of the offender, exploring dynamics of identity, social-connectivity and participation in the realms of rehabilitation and reintegration. I note here, though this paper does not go into depth on the subject, that offenders are very often caught in a pattern of cyclical abuse and victimization, which creates complex psychosocial strata in the study of criminal behaviors. A range of studies have suggested that, "in criminological research this may be more complicated than it seems when you consider the fact that the majority of offenders in the criminal justice system occupy contradictory and complex positions of power and oppression- both as victims and offenders due to their own histories of victimization, racism and poverty."[18]

Another important area of influence, which this paper will not address at length, is the ubiquity of mental illness and substance abuse among youth caught in a cycle of prison

---

http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/27/nyregion/lawmakers-seek-a-softer-justice-system-for-juvenile-offenders-in-new-york.html?pagewanted=all
http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/27/opinion/children-in-prison-for-life.html
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-18584415
http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/26/us/justices-bar-mandatory-life-sentences-for-juveniles.html

[18] Dupont, Ida. Beyond Doing No Harm: A Call for Participatory Action Research with Marginalized Populations in Criminological Research. *Critical Criminology*, Vol 16 (July 2008): Page 202.

recidivism. These factors play a significant role in many rehabilitation and reintegration modalities, but for the purpose of this paper, they are addressed only as they arise in the expressed experiences of the research sample. My research is focused on young men of color, while recognizing the vital importance and underdevelopment of research that highlights unique considerations of female inmates.[19]

Defining the Generalized Actors

Throughout this paper I frequently use the terms 'youth' and 'community', in reference to groups of particular individuals. For the purpose of this paper, 'youth' encompasses juveniles (10-18), teenagers (13-19), and young adults (18-25). In the U.S., the term 'juvenile' signifies youth under the age of eighteen, with the same definition generally applied in South Africa. However, the Correctional Services Act (SA) deems juveniles to be all individuals in custody under the age of twenty-one, while the Central Statistical Services refers to those between eighteen and through twenty as 'young adults'.[20]

My use of the term 'Community' is intended to identify the actors who are voluntarily and actively involved with youth advocacy, which may include a disparate collection of individuals; students, families, educators, youth-advocates, activists, educators, and locally based organizations. In this paper the term community does not automatically signify inclusion of all members of a shared geographic or cultural association, rather, it is more often a group comprised of select members who are concerned with the specific issues under discussion, who form a self-made community within the broader society. The term itself is somewhat problematic and widely generalized in academic literature. The inherent generality of the term may be exclusive of certain incongruences within the group referred to as 'community', but for the purpose of this research it is meant to indicate members of the specified populations who are committed to a common cause.

[19] Sharma Sunititi. Contesting Institutional Discourse to Create New Possibilities for Understanding Lived Experience: Life-stories of Young Women in Detention, Rehabilitation, and Education. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, Vol. 13 Issue 3 (2010): 327-347.

[20] Ward et al 2012, Muntingh 2011, Naude 2001

XI. Methods, Setting and Sample

The data for this research was collected through a triangulation of qualitative methods developed though a process drawn from grounded-theory. Primary research was comprised of policy and document-analysis, participant observation, and interviews conducted during a one-month internship in Cape Town with an organization called Young in Prison (YIP). Young In Prison operates on the premise that "(c)hildren do not belong in prison, but while they are imprisoned, they have the right to positively develop themselves." This goal is accomplished, in part, through art and educational workshops that "facilitate the procurement of life-skills to foster expression…offer role model relationships and help secure the youth with skills which will aid them in reintegration into society after they are released."[21] My research was conducted under the auspices of this organization, but collected independently through methods I designed and carried out.

I assisted in facilitating creative arts and communication-skills workshops in Pollsmoor Prison with male inmates, ages 18-24, all of whom were youth of color (Black and 'Colored'). The young inmates were mostly from outlying townships and informal settlements just outside of Cape Town. They generally had little or no legal representation and lacked the resources to hire a private attorney, thereby ending up in Pollsmoor, a place commonly referred to as 'the worst prison in South Africa'. The young men I worked with were housed in a temporary section of an adult prison awaiting transfer until they are old enough to serve sentences ranging from five to twenty years in the adult section.[22]. Due to IRB restrictions I was unable to conduct interviews with the inmates, but through participant observation three times weekly (limited by prison administration), I gained a glimpse into the experiences and ideas of this group. I conducted additional research through interviews with formerly incarcerated youth, community residents, non-profit staff members and prison wardens, advocacy group all of whom had regular contact with younth in prison. Towards the goal of a comparative analysis with the same groups in New Orleans, I derived secondary research from NGO policy documents, media-interviews, and reports published by community-based programs in advocacy of incarcerated youth.

---

[21] Excerpted from the Young in Prison mission statement. www.younginprison.nl

[22] See Appendix for individual charges, sentences and program requirements.

XII. Methodology

This is an interdisciplinary work that draws from multiple scholarly fields, including criminology, human and civil rights, popular communication, critical pedagogy, critical race studies, critical education, and sociology. I examined primary and secondary research, select media sources, along with 'gray literature' (internal documents and publications) generated by non-profit groups. The writings of Clifford Geertz and bell hooks influenced methodological considerations, as did a variety of authors exploring Participatory Action Research methods and popular-education approaches to community-development. A theoretical framework emerged throughout the research, with early influences from the works of Paolo Freire in addressing community-participation in the formation of transformative pedagogies. These theories helped explicate how local strategies were being formulated, and how the discourse of 'rehabilitation' and 'remedy' was expressed in actual practice within each site of analysis.

XIII. Academic Merit and Political Significance

The objective of this study is to contribute to the 'bottom-up' discussion of non-institutional, community-based approaches to minimizing youth violence, incarceration and recidivism that are addressing the root causes of structural and social-development problems from a distributive justice perspective. The actionable solutions developed in two heavily impacted locations, New Orleans and Cape Town, demonstrate counter-hegemonic principles of political resistance and social change movements that can inform academic theory and policy-implementation towards more viable remedial strategies to universal problems. Beyond these site-specific findings, my research aims contribute to criminological and critical race theory discussions by highlighting the implications of 'warehousing' already marginalized groups in a global, neoliberal market where 'productivity' is the premium measurement of human value while 'deviance' is deemed to be a disposable one. Legislation and public policies rarely reflect the expertise of local knowledge, despite the assumed rights of inclusion in democratic political systems. There is, therefore, a greater need than ever to critically examine and analyze these issues within a framework of civil and human rights.

XIV. Chapters Map

Chapter Two: *Problems and Remedial Responses,* reviews the extant literature pertaining to South Africa and the United States, with a critical theory analysis of the problems and an overview of remedial theories and practices at community-levels. Chapter Three: *'Respect, Trust, Attention,'* discusses the methodological considerations pertinent to this research. Primary focus is on participatory data-collection and methods of identifying discourse-formation in the realm of community organizing and development. Chapter Four: *Who is Heard, Who is Listening?* presents my research findings from Cape Town, providing detailed accounts from three sites of inquiry. Subsequent analysis of the research data is endeavored through a methods process based in grounded theory. Chapter Five, '*We Won't Bow Down,'*[23] looks at secondary research from New Orleans to assess various strategies employed by community organizations seeking to address the issues affecting youth incarceration and recidivism. Chapter Six: '*When People Come Together',* discusses the key findings from Cape Town and New Orleans, drawing comparisons between their respective circumstances and remedial practices, while analyzing the barriers to those efforts. This chapter situates the research responses to my thesis questions in an empirical and theoretical context, in an attempt to identify significant lessons for sociological and humanistic reflection.

Index of Terms

Collective efficacy

Collective efficacy involves both the willingness of individuals in a neighborhood to work together toward a common goal, such as crime control, and mutual trust.[24]

Criminal Justice System

Criminal justice system refers to the collective institutions through which an accused offender passes until the accusations have been disposed of or the assessed punishment concluded. The criminal justice system consists of three main parts: (1) law enforcement (police, sheriffs, marshals); (2) adjudication (courts which include judges, prosecutors, defense lawyers); and (3) corrections (prison officials, probation officers, and parole officers). In a criminal justice system, these distinct agencies operate together under the rule of law and are the principal means of maintaining the rule of law within society.[25]

---

[23] '*We Won't Bow Down'* is a well-established motto of resistance to historical and political oppression in New Orleans, profuse among marginalized, disenfranchised and otherwise oppressed populations since before the abolishment of slavery.

[24] Blackwell Encyclopedia of Scociology Online. http://www.sociologyencyclopedia.com/public/

[25] Legal Dictionary. http://definitions.uslegal.com/c/criminal-justice-system/

Correctional System
The American criminal justice system is a network of government agencies and individuals whose purpose is to apprehend, prosecute, and punish criminal offenders, maintain societal order, prevent and control crime, and ensure public safety. Most criminal justice agencies and organizations that are responsible for these functions can be classified under three primary groups: law enforcement, courts, and corrections. The term " system " implies that each group within the criminal justice network collaborates with one another to achieve a common goal.[26]

Crimenogenic
"Those conditions or structures which themselves seem to create crime. Just as hospitals create disease (eg: infection) it is possible that prisons or even courts or youth correction centers are 'criminogenic'."[27]

Discourse
A term commonly affiliated with author/philosopher Michel Foucault, to describe the specific way things are spoken about, to the exclusion of other sources of meaning, prescribing particular structure in the way the word/terms are perceived according to that meaning.[28]

Disenfranchised
"(t)he term is used to describe groups that have little power or representation in the political process. Young people could be called disenfranchised since they have a low rate of voting and more importantly they have little representation in the political process or institutions which concern them."[29]

Dispossession by accumulation
Based on the Marxist concept of 'primitive accumulation; David Harvey expands the concept to mean , "Accumulation by dispossession is about plundering, robbing other people of their rights. When we start to look at what has happened to the global economy for the past thirty years, a lot of that has been going on all over the place. In some instances, it is taking away peoples rights to dispose of their own resources."[30]

Distributive Justice
"Distributive justice refers to fairness in the allocation of the rewards or benefits of society or of an institution within society. When Karl Marx asserts that workers produce value in a commodity which they do not receive and are thus exploited, he is concerned about distributive injustice."[31]

Iatrogenic
"The iatrogenic effect describes the unintentional harmful effects of medical intervention or advice. The term is used in prevention science where programs are shown to have detrimental effects on children's outcomes. The effect has been found most frequently among services that involve group work with anti-social youth."[32]

Institutional racism
"When a whole organisation's procedures and policies disadvantage BME people. In the UK the 1999 Macpherson report into the death of Stephen Lawrence defined institutional racism for the first time: 'the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture of ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racial stereotyping which disadvantaged minority ethnic people."[33]

---

[26] IBID.
[27] Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences: http://bitbucket.icaap.org/dict.pl?alpha=C
[28] Foucault, Michel. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
[29] Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences: http://bitbucket.icaap.org/dict.pl?alpha=C
[30] A conversation With David Harvey. http://www.logosjournal.com/issue_5.1/harvey.htm
[31] IBID.
[32] Prevention Action website. http://www.preventionaction.org/reference/iatrogenic-effect
[33] As defined by the international Institute of Race Relations: http://www.irr.org.uk/research/statistics/definitions/

Marginalization
"Marginalization is a metaphor that refers to processes by which individuals or groups are kept at or pushed beyond the edges of society."[34]

Protective factors
"Protective factors exert a positive influence or buffer against the negative influence of risk, thus reducing the likelihood that adolescents will engage in problem behaviors."[35]

Recidivism
"Repetition of criminal behavior by an offender previously convicted and punished for an offence. Recidivism is a measure of the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs or the deterrent effect of punishment. While an important concept in evaluation research, criminologists have great difficulty in determining just how to measure recidivism."[36]

Restorative Justice
"Restorative justice is a set of principles and practices grounded in the values of showing respect, taking responsibility, and strengthening relationships. When harm occurs, restorative justice focuses on repair of harm and prevention of re-occurrence."[37]

Retributive Justice
"(r)efers to fairness in the administration and imposition of punishment on those who have brought harm or negative consequences on individuals or society. It is seen as fair, for example, that those who violate the law should receive punishment. The criminal justice system can be thought of as the institutionalization of this type of justice."[38]

Risk factors
Risk factors are characteristics of school, community, and family environments, as well as characteristics of students and their peer groups that are known to predict increased likelihood of drug use, delinquency, school dropout, teen pregnancy, and violent behavior among youth.[39]

Social production/social capital
"Patterns of information, knowledge, and cultural production are changing—and shows that the way information and knowledge are made available can either limit or enlarge the ways people can create and express themselves."[40] 'The process by which social actors create and mobilize their network connections within and between organizations to gain access to other social actors' resources' "(Knoke 1999, p. 18). 'The web of cooperative relationships between citizens that facilitate resolution of collective action problems' (Brehm and Rahn 1997, p. 999).

---

[34] Blackwell Encyclopedia of Scociology Online. http://www.sociologyencyclopedia.com/public/

[35] Risk and Protective Model of Prevention. http://icare.ebrschools.org/eduWEB2/1000011/docs/risk_and_protective_factors.pdf

[36] Social Capital Research. Web. http://www.socialcapitalresearch.com/definition.html

[37] Sumner et al. *School-based restorative justice as an alternative to zero-tolerance policies:Lessons from West Oakland. http://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/11-2010_School based_Restorative_Justice_As_an_Alternative_to_Zero-Tolerance_Policies.pdf*

[38] Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences: http://bitbucket.icaap.org/dict.pl?alpha=C

[39] Risk and Protective Model of Prevention. http://icare.ebrschools.org/eduWEB2/1000011/docs/risk_and_protective_factors.pdf

[40] Benkler, Yochai. The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom. Web. http://yalepress.yale.edu/yupbooks/book.asp?isbn=0300110561

CHAPTER TWO

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE:
Problems & Remedial Interventions

I think they (juvenile inmates) need ongoing consistency. It's the one thing they never have. These organizations that work in Pollsmoor they just come for a little while and open them up but then they just leave them without checking on them later, when they get out. Some of us women here in the community try to help hook them up with jobs, but we can't do everything on our own.

- Bulewa, community resident of Philipi township

I. Introduction

There is a considerable range of literature addressing the complexity of problems related to youth violence, criminalization, incarceration, and recidivism. Less attention has been invested in the research, knowledge- and theory-building based in the lived experiences of people at the local levels who are engaging with these problems. Throughout the thesis, I draw from three types of literature: academic literature and research studies from the fields of criminology, critical race theory, critical education studies, popular communications theory, urban development studies, social and public policy studies; the grey literature from grassroots-activists, community-based organizations and cultural story-tellers; and a selective array of media reports about current events in the two research sites of Cape Town and New Orleans. In the following chapters, I examine the grey literature produced by local non-profit organizations and community-based programs in Cape Town and New Orleans at greater length.

In this chapter I focus on the literatures that analyze specific challenges that the proposed and practiced remedies seek to address. First I present some of the critical theories pertaining to systemic, structural violence and it's corollary in actualized, direct violence in the United States and South Africa. I then discuss some of the applied theories that examine systemic violence within institutions, in interpersonal relations, or as a form of agency. The goal of this chapter is to outline the political, economic and sociological arguments for the development of community-based models of intervention and reintegration for youth offenders, and especially the importance of youth participation and agency in these strategies. I then present some of the remedial practices that are central to community-organization and mobilization for participatory youth development.

II. Manifestations of Violence: Critical Theory

Violence is a pervasive, chronic problem in Cape Town and New Orleans. Two different but interconnected paradigms are at work in the construction, assimilation and perpetuation of violence; systemic violence and actualized violence. The first is an intangible, psychological force imposed by social and political exclusion, dispossession and systems of discourse. The second is a physical expression of the systemic violence, demonstrated by a lashing out against the invisible stranglehold of the oppressive forces. Systemic violence is structural, indirect, and immeasurable, with general or multiple drivers gradually causing harm over time and with unpredictable consequences. Actualized crime is direct and actionable; it tends to be immediate and measurable, with known perpetrators and obvious consequences. The former sets the conditions for the latter, causing the circumstances in which direct violence seems an inevitable, even necessary, outcome.

Structural Violence as a Method of Social Control

Systemic violence can operate in the 'collective conscience' of entire populations of people for multiple generations. Racial oppression and colonial, or post-colonial, accumulation by dispossession are prime examples. This elusive, yet pervasive, mode of controlling people en masse by systemic marginalization can be described as *structural violence.* Johan Galtung coined the term in the 1960s, to indicate the features of systems, policies and institutions that prevent people from full access to, or activation of, essential human rights.[41] Structural violence can also be an indirect, unintentional consequence of systems that are not inherently destructive, such as educational and judicial institutions. Galtung also explored the dynamics of *cultural violence* and *direct violence.* He defined the core meanings in the following ways; "A violent structure leaves marks not only on the human body but also on the mind and the spirit…Direct violence is an *event*; structural violence a process with ups and downs; cultural violence is an *invarient,* a 'permanency', remaining essentially the same for long periods, given the slow transformation of basic culture."[42]

Political, economic and social conditions in South Africa and the American South epitomize the interrelations between structural violence and direct violence. Structural violence

[41] Galtung, Johan. Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research.* Vol. 27, Issue 3. (1990): 294.
[42] IBID.

is evident in the vast disparities of wealth distribution and economic mobility, characterized by abject poverty and extraordinarily high unemployment rates in both locations. Fractured public education systems are especially sub-standard in the lowest-income neighborhoods populated mainly by Black, Cape-Malay, ('Colored') groups in South Africa, and Black, Latino and Vietnamese populations in New Orleans. Direct violence is pervasive in the constant gang warfare within the same neighborhoods, while local police brutality has become so prevalent as to require federal-level interventions in both places.

Racial segregation is perhaps the most blatant form of state-sanctioned violence, second only to genocide. Apartheid laws in South Africa dispossessed Black and Colored residents of their property, political participation and basic human rights. In the American South, post-slavery 'Black Codes' and subsequent 'Jim Crow' laws of legal segregation designated separate public spaces and restricted resources and opportunities for Black and mixed-race people. The legally-enforced 'separate but equal' mandates produced a framework of inequality so insidiously fabricated that both regions remain segregated, now 'unofficially', forty and eighteen years after those laws were abolished.[43] According to Galtung, the repercussions can be identified by "(c)ombining the distinction between direct and structural violence with four classes of basic needs: *survival needs* (negation: death, mortality); *well-being needs* (negation: misery, morbidity); *identity and meaning needs* (negation: alienation); and *freedom needs* (negation: repression)."[44] The segregation policies in South Africa and the American South directly incurred 'misery, morbidity', 'alienation' and 'repression' for non-white residents.

The racist political discourse used to justify a perceived 'need' for segregation was built into the titles of the laws themselves. The word *Apartheid* is Afrikaans for 'separateness', derived from the Dutch *apart-* for 'separate' and *-heid* meaning 'hood'.[45] *Jim Crow* was derived from an 1830s vaudeville character popularized by traveling minstrel road shows, portrayed as "a stereotypically lazy and shiftless black buffoon designed to elicit laughs with his avoidance of work."[46] The etymology of these racialized terms signifies the way political and legal systems can become inculcated by a powerful discursive message, thus indoctrinating culture with the normalcy of divisiveness. Structural violence, Galtung suggests, is abetted by cultural violence,

---

[43] Apartheid segregation was enforced from 1942 to1994; Black Code and Jim Crow Laws from 1865 to a gradual elimination from1968 to 1970.

[44] IBID; 292.

[45] Origins of the word 'Apartheid'. Web. http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/apartheid

[46] Jim Crow/Segregation. *KnowLA: Encyclopedia of Louisiana*. Web. http://www.knowla.org/entry.php?rec=735

"the symbolic sphere of our existence… can be used to justify or legitimize direct violence…cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right-or at least not wrong…the psychological mechanism would be internalization."[47]

This understanding of sustained, 'invisible' control helps explicate how structural violence infuses and influences relationships in civil society as the threat of punishment is internalized. The institution of the prison is one such method of maintaining social control. In terms of the procedural ramifications of imprisonment, Michel Foucault described six ways in which the 'correctional' techniques of the penitentiary system have failed to prevent or deter crime, and which, in fact, demonstrate an altogether different agenda from the alleged objectives of its foundation;

> (1) "Prisons do not diminish the crime rate: they can be extended, multiplied or transformed, the quantity of crime and criminals remains stable or, worse, increases… (2) Detention causes recidivism; those leaving prison have more chance than before of going back to it…(3) The prison cannot fail to produce delinquents. It does so by the very type of existence that it imposes on its inmates: whether they are isolated in cells or whether they are given useless work, for which they will find no employment, it is, in any case, not to think of man in society; it is to create an unnatural, useless, and dangerous existence…(4)
>
> The prison makes possible, even encourages the organization of a milieu of delinquents, loyal to one another, hierarchized, ready to aid and abet any future criminal act…(5) The conditions to which free inmates are subjected necessarily condemn them to recidivism: they are under the surveillance of the police; they are assigned to a particular residence, or forbidden others; they leave the prison with a passport that they must show everywhere they go and which mentions the sentence that they have served.. (6) Lastly, the prison indirectly produces delinquents by throwing the inmates family into destitution; the same order that sends the head of the family to prison reduces each day the mother to destitution, the children to abandonment…it is in this way that crime can take root."[48]

A wide range of private interests are invested in keeping the prison system viable and highly operational, in what Angela Davis describes as "the prison industrial complex…a set of symbiotic relationships among correctional communities, transnational corporations, media conglomerates, guards' unions, and legislative and court agendas." That prisons remain filled and that cycles of recidivism are so common as to be termed 'the revolving door' of the correctional system, indicate more complex agendas. One of the paradoxes in this agenda, is that

---

[47] Galtung, Johan. Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research.* Vol. 27, Issue 3. (1990): Pages 291-292.

[48] Foucault, Michel. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995. Pages 265-268.

the internalization of punishment as a social control mechanism has shown to reproduce the cycle of the actions that led to punishment. In the same way that the internalization of structural violence perpetuates itself in direct violence, the internalization of punishment perpetuates itself as the expectation of punishment. This net-like apparatus of psychological and social control mechanisms inform society about how to treat people who break the rules, and it brands those who break the rules as 'others,' a separate category of human being who are first and foremost criminals, and only secondarily members of society. As the increasing number of young people, particularly those of color, are swept into this net, the social fabric of their families and communities are likewise infected by the carceral mechanisms of control.

The discursive construction of certain people as 'criminals' serves to maintain social control as society takes up the discourse and projects the criminal as 'other', and by implication 'unworthy' of partaking in the benefits of society. Thus, marginalization is enforced by institutions and sustained by social and political actions and discourse. Michele Alexander, a contemporary scholar and practitioner of civil law, describes the ominous trend in the American correctional system's over-representation of people of color. The author lays out the deeply disturbing trajectory in which the current number of imprisoned Black men and women has already exceeded the total numbers of African slaves before the Civil War.[49] Alexander writes, "the stark and sobering reality is…the American penal system emerged as a system of social control unparalleled in world history. And while the size of the system alone might suggest that it would touch the lives of most Americans, the primary targets of its control can be defined largely by race."[50]

George Frederickson, a leading historian and scholar in race-studies, spelled out some of the fundamental ramifications in the historical subjugation of Black people and people of mixed-race; "territorial and political segregation served to make a numerical majority into a functional minority that had little or no power within the South African state or polity. Black Americans have been both a minority in the demographic sense and an oppressed group in the socio-political sense, which meant they were denied a proportionate or fair share of status, wealth and

[49] Alexander, Michele. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness.* New York: The New Press (2012).
[50] IBID; 8.

power."[51] Although the methods of oppression were extremely violent in both cases, the coalescing of resistance movements were not centrally focused on counter-subjugation by violence, but rather were fundamentally aimed at gaining recognition of inherent equality and essential human rights.

The advancement of liberation ideologies in South Africa and the American South were not isolated from one another, but rather, each helped to influence and reinforce the other. Frederickson noted that the two groups "shared in a larger Pan-African discourse and responded to changing international currents of black thought and opinion. As a result of this black internationalism, they influenced each other and also responded creatively to the same ideologies and movements." In both places, nonviolence movements were influenced by Gandhian principles in South Africa and motivational orations by Martin-Luther King Jr. in the United States. Despite the predominantly non-violent methods of social opposition to segregation (with significant exceptions in South Africa), these movements were met with extreme, state-sanctioned violence.

South African and American youth struggle with violence in their daily lives. These struggles are tied to structural violence and persistently influence the way youth use or are impacted by, direct violence. Young men of color, in particular, are frequently 'set-up' in a framework of structural, cultural and direct violence in which they feel themselves to be 'cornered' and 'attacked'; and thus they aggressively fight back. This connection can be seen in the volatile conflict between youth and police. Police brutality was endemic in South Africa and the American South, especially in response to popular protests, and has continued to be a major concern in Cape Town and New Orleans.[52] A deep mistrust of law enforcement has well-founded origins, even as it generalizes and perpetuates mutual hostility. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in South Africa has issued numerous reports of contemporary concerns about police brutality, citing it as "a reflection of the economic injustice that permeates the new South Africa, where police seemingly care little about protecting the poor."[53]

Tying back to structural violence, the authors recognize that this is part of a larger issue: "This is not simply about police brutality. It is about national brutality…It begins with the

---

[51] Alexander, Michele. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness.* New York: The New Press (2012).

[52] Ward et al 2012, Buras 2010, Flaherty 2010.

[53] *Brutal killing shines spotlight on South Africa's police.* 15, April, 2011. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Web. http://www.csvr.org.za/

acceptance of the brutality of poverty."[54] The effects of direct violence, as described by Galtung, are rooted in structural violence and become normalized as cultural violence. Consequently, interpersonal violence is expressed disproportionately in environments with few or no outlets for feelings of repressed frustration or helplessness in the face of daily hardship and socio-economic obstacles. This consequence of structural violence ricochets back against youth who are increasingly criminalized and incarcerated as a result. Police departments in major urban areas have admitted to having formal procedures designed to maximize the numbers of arrests of African-Americans and Latinos, irrespective of their offense.[55] The argument for racial profiling is often premised on an assertion that these groups commit more crime than other groups. The structural violence argument counters this view by pointing to the fact that there are more police stationed in high poverty/high-crime neighborhoods with large African American and Latino communities, meaning that more youth from those populations are targeted for arrest.

Neoliberal Mechanisms Perpetuating Structural Violence

The experiences and opportunities of youth in Cape Town and New Orleans are influenced inexorably by their surroundings. Just as physical violence is an actualization of structural violence, the high rates of youth incarceration can be traced back to deprivation and exclusion of critical socio-political assets. In the current neoliberal capitalist market system, decentralization of capital appears to provide more opportunity for more actors, but in reality more often excludes groups with the least political capital and economic means. David Harvey describes the implications of neoliberal development in South Africa: "The World Bank treated post apartheid South Africa as a showcase for the greater efficiencies that could be achieved through privatization and liberation of the market. … Under these conditions, ideals of urban identity, citizenship and belonging—already threatened by the spreading malaise of a neoliberal ethic—become much harder to sustain."[56] New Orleans is likewise a site of economic 'experimentation', to such an extent that Kristen Buras, a professor of urban education and reform, suggests that: "Arguably, New Orleans stands at the epicenter of neoliberal reform in the

[54] *Brutal killing shines spotlight on South Africa's police.* 15, April, 2011. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Web. file: http://www.csvr.org.za/

[55] Davis, Angela. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press. 2003. Pages 30-31.

[56] IBID; 143.

United States."[57] Buras cites David Harvey's analysis of accumulation by dispossession as the "transfer (of) assets and redistribute(d) wealth…from the mass of the population towards the upper classes or from vulnerable to richer countries" and details the ways this redistributive system has adversely affected New Orleans most marginalized residents.[58]

Spatial dislocation refers to another deleterious aspect of neoliberalism experienced by residents of Cape Town and New Orleans. This is the reorganization of urban spaces presumably for the advancement of collective economic development, a tactic that, in actual practice, invariably disadvantages the urban area's poorest residents, as they are physically and politically removed from the assets and power levers of central development. In Cape Town and New Orleans, this is exemplified by the forced relocation of whole communities, specifically people of color, to peripheral settlements in under-developed urban areas. Arnetha Ball writes of a "definitional power" differential experienced by Black South Africans in "academic, social and geographical demarcations between locations", in terms of educational divisions between the places of learning and the places where students live. Ball refers to this disconnection of the physical place of knowledge-production (schools) being distant from the locations where students have been moved, as "spatial madness". The author points to a "(f)amily history of spatial dislocation, plus entry into culturally and geographically distant locations; distant places for learning and teaching generate defensiveness, fear, and barriers to learning."[59]

New Orleans has undergone extreme spatial reorganization from neoliberal restructuring strategies produced by economic and urban development committees located outside of the city.[60] These policies both directly and indirectly affect the issues around public education and the criminalization of young people. Private interests have invested enormous funds into 'rebuilding' New Orleans infrastructure, including public schools, private detention centers and medical facilities. In doing so, however, the previous public institutions and services were largely displaced, thereby making formerly available public services unavailable for those who lack the ability to pay for what was formerly paid for by the state.

---

[57] Buras, Kristen et al. *Pedagogy, Policy, and the Privatized City: Stories of Dispossession and Defiance From New Orleans*. New York and London: Teachers College Press, 2010. Page 3.
[58] IBID; 4.
[59] Ball, Arnetha. F. *Multicultural Strategies for Education & Social Change: Carriers of the Torch in the United States and South Africa*. New York & London: Teachers College, Colombia University, 2006. Foreward, xix.
[60] Flaherty (2010), Buras (2010), Klein (2011), Leitner et al (2007).

Neoliberal restructuring has not been limited to outsourcing public services to profitable corporate investments, but has further expanded to the fundamental revision of the systems by which public services formerly operated. Authors Akers (2012), Johnsons (2011), Buras (2010), Flaherty (2012), and Klein (2007), bring perspectives from a broad range of scholarship in the fields of political science, sociology, education, public policy and media theory. Each makes the argument that New Orleans was already experiencing a disintegration of public services resulting from large federal budget cuts in 2011 and negligent management at municipal levels, and has since become further exploited by the deregulated privatization of the public commons. Education, healthcare, property rights, household utilities, and legal representation are some of the areas that have been subject to neoliberal restructuring. The resultant accumulation by dispossession presents a situation in which the poorest residents now cannot afford the basic services that were, perhaps previously difficult to access, but were at least part of the public commons and not an economic commodity.

Buras outlines the way neoliberal strategists dismiss the increased disparities in distribution of wealth by framing it as a way to prevent poor communities from becoming reliant on the state and perpetuating a 'culture of poverty'.[61] This neoconservative discourse frames the perceived failures of the poor to create social and economic capital as their own fault. Buras suggests that, "this majoritarian narrative is the backbone of accumulation by dispossession." After Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans experienced a surge of what Naomi Klein calls *disaster capitalism;* "(o)rchestrated raids on the public sphere in the wake of catastrophic events, combined with the treatment of disasters as exciting market opportunities."[62] The influx of private contractors from outside the state effectively redesigned the way public school system in New Orleans operate, by creating a federal 'voucher system' for charter schools. These federally-subsidized charter schools receive significantly higher funding and resources than those that remained in the jurisdiction of the local board of education. The majority of the under-sourced public schools are found in the neighborhoods with highest poverty and highest crime, as divided along district zoning lines.

The New Orleans prison system has also been altered by privatization policies. In the 1990s Louisiana was issued a federal mandate to reduce prison crowding. Instead of

---

[61] Buras, Kristen et al. *Pedagogy, Policy, and the Privatized City: Stories of Dispossession and Defiance From New Orleans*. New York and London: Teachers College Press, 2010.

[62] Klein, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Picador, 2007. Page 5.

implementing lower sentences for non-violent offenders (a route taken by other states), or investing in parole alternatives such as intensive community-based correctional programs (also a viable option taken by other states), local sheriffs' departments privatized county jails. The financial incentive to keep the jails full created an industry whereby inmates from state prisons are sent to private jails for extensive sentences, without the rehabilitative services available from the state.[63]

Taken together, neoliberal projects affect youth in terms of further marginalizing already disadvantaged populations, while creating more socio-economic restrictions and further impeding social agency. Giroux describes this situation as an ever-expanding network of factors that increasingly alienate and disenfranchise youth, compounded by a "dreamscape of neoliberalism (that) has ushered in a long period of social and economic revenge against those populations marginalized by race and class. The new government of insecurity reshaped welfare through punitive policies that criminalize poverty…and use incarceration as the primary tool of making such populations disappear…This is particularly true as more and more young people are caught in the punishing circuits of surveillance, containment, repression and disposability."[64]

III. Institutions that Sustain Structural Violence in South Africa and the United States

Structural violence is embodied in the innate purpose and procedural agendas of institutional criminal justice systems. Michel Foucault's work, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, describes the ways prisons assert control over the bodies and minds of prisoners, through a constant replication of the *panopticon* effect, embodied as a psychological model of the prison structure.[65] Foucault described the scope of control exerted by the prison as a "complex ensemble that constitutes the 'carceral system', not only the institution of the prison, with its walls, its staff, its regulations and its violence. The carceral system combines in a single figure discourses and architectures, coercive regulations and scientific propositions, real social effects and invincible utopias, programs for correcting delinquents and mechanisms that reinforce delinquency."[66]

---

[63] Chang, Cindy. Louisiana is the World's Prison Capital. The Times Picayune. May 13, 2012. Web.http://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2012/05/louisiana_is_the_worlds_prison.html

[64] IBID; Page 3.

[65] Panopticon: a circular prison with cells distributed around a central surveillance station, designed by Jeremy Bentham in 1791 to enhance the efficiency of monitoring prisoners by creating the impression that they are always under surveillance. This effect continues outside the prison walls.

[66] Foucault, Michel. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995. Page 271.

As a form of social control, the divisive 'othering' of particular populations is also seen in the way deviants, delinquents and criminals are viewed as objectionable populations that need to be separated from the rest of society. Angela Davis describes this phenomenon eloquently; "The prison therefore functions ideologically as an abstract site into which undesirables are deposited, relieving us of the responsibility of thinking about the real issues afflicting those communities from which prisoners are drawn in such disproportionate numbers."[67] Davis makes the point that the concept of prison abolition is generally dismissed outright because prison has become such a normalized, 'natural' development of social order.

Structural Violence in Legislation and Public Policy

South Africa's troubled history continues to directly impact its current population of urban youth. Young in Prison, located in Cape Town, focuses on building youth leadership, and outlines the ways in which structural violence continues to impact the lives of young people of color.

> The apartheid regime put our target group at a disadvantage both by sequestering their communities into poverty stricken areas and limiting their opportunities for employment and education, but also instilled in the population emotional triggers, which have added to the propensity of criminal behavior and an ethos of violence…Many young South Africans born into this…'culture of violence' end up in conflict with the law and placed in correctional institutions. The institutions, whether they are managed by the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) or the Department of Social Development (DSD) present many challenges for these youngsters inside the institutions and post-release.[68]

The current South African government has attempted to address some of these challenges with progressive legislation. The *White Paper by the Department of Correctional Services* (1994) and *The draft White Paper: In Service of Safety 1998-2003* each emphasize that prison sentences for youth should only be the final result of otherwise exhausted options. This is in accordance with the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Justice.[69] The White Paper also highlights the importance of social work and psychological services for prisoners, including life-skills, training and educational, religious, recreational and community crime prevention. Although these intentions have been formally established, the

---

[67] Davis, Angela. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press. 2003. Page 16.
[68] Young in Prison website: http://www.younginprison.za
[69] Naude, Beaty. South Africa. *Teen Violence: A Global View*, ed. Allan M. Hoffman and Randal W. Summers. London: Greenwood Press, 2001.

practice is limited, due to a shortage of prison staff and overcrowded facilities.[70] Those changes, while slow in being implemented, offer an essential framework for the development of holistic methodologies as alternatives to incarceration.

In the U.S., the discourse around national security, combined with legislation for the 'War on Drugs' and the 'Patriot Act', set a continual tone and expectation of danger, threat and attack. These messages, when internalized as fear, create a panoptical effect in which the hidden threat of an 'enemy' is perceived to be anywhere and everywhere. Young men of color, along with other minority groups, have increasingly become the scapegoats for this 'enemizing' impulse and are stigmatized as symbolic representations of 'the other', as though they pose a constant threat to social order. In direct consequence, the social and political environment in the United States and South Africa especially, is one in which; "punishment and fear have replaced compassion and social responsibility as the most important modalities mediating the relationship of youth to the larger social order."[71]

Magnani and Wray (2006) have discussed the historical turn in the U.S. to increasingly punitive federal and state policies relating to schools and juvenile justice systems. Noting laws such as The 'Violent Youth Predator Act' of 1996, enacted in Florida, the authors express concern that "this kind of rhetoric lends itself to a form of demonization that we have seen develop when the nation wants to go to war against an 'enemy', when we are considering punitive immigration polices, or when any category of people has become unpopular. It is a rhetoric that has been rampant in the post-9/11 environment."[72] The heightened security agenda has forged a connection between schools and jails, tracing back to former-president Reagan's *zero-tolerance* policy from the War on Drugs initiative in the early 1980s. Due to continuing 'tough on crime' and 'zero-tolerance' policies, schools increasingly engage police intervention. A 'three-strikes' approach to school-based discipline mirrors national criminal law, resulting in the rapid accruement of criminal charges for young people, and unprecedented rates of youth incarceration in what has become known as the 'School-to-Prison-Pipeline'.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) calls this a "national trend of criminalizing rather than educating our nation's youth." The Advancement Project, a policy, communications

---

70 Naude, Beaty. South Africa. *Teen Violence: A Global View*, ed. Allan M. Hoffman and Randal W. Summers. London: Greenwood Press, 2001.

71 IBID; Preface xi.

72 Magnani, Laura and Harmon L. Wray. *Beyond Prisons: A New Interfaith Paradigm for Our Failed Prison System.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006. Page 140.

and legal action group, identifies the critical implications of this trend: "In many communities, this transforms schools from places of learning to dangerous gateways into juvenile court. This is more than an education crisis; it is a racial justice crisis, because the students pushed out through harsh discipline are disproportionately students of color."[73] In a report titled *Families Unlocking Futures,* produced by Families for Justice, a series of focus groups and surveys generated data indicating that "nearly one in three families surveyed reported that their child's first arrest took place at school."[74] The report analyzes existing research to identify salient correlations between current legislation and increased probability of youth contact with the correctional system. [75]

Structural Violence in Education

In South Africa, despite concerted efforts made at legislative and civic levels, inequalities in public school systems are still severe, particularly "in the form of racially under-funding of schools, overcrowded classrooms, dilapidated buildings…and under-qualified teachers".[76] During the summer of 2012, these issues rose to public prominence when multiple school districts reported that they had not received the textbooks that were due at the beginning of the year.[77] The literatures that explore connections between under-education and youth incarceration point to many dimensions of positive correlation. Authors Ward (2012), Ball (2006) and Naude (2001) discuss the historical trend in government under-sourcing of Bantu education for Black South African youth, while White and Colored youth received European curricula that negated, dismissed or distorted significant historical facts pertaining to the Black population.

In the United States, severely punitive policies in educational settings further contribute to the swelling numbers of youth entering the correctional system. These practices disproportionately punish youth of color.[78] The Department of Education released data collected by the Civil Rights Data Collection study, from 2009-2010 in 72, 000 schools and representing 85 percent of the nation's students in grades K-12. The research revealed that African American

---

[73] From The Advancement Project website; http://www.advancementproject.org/our-work/schoolhouse-to-jailhouse

[74] Report by Justice for Families: *Families Unlocking Futures: Solutions to the Crisis in Juvenile Justice:*Fhttp://www.justice4families.org/media/Families_Unlocking_FuturesFULLNOEMBARGO.pdf

[75] IBID.

[76] Ball, Arnetha. F. *Multicultural Strategies for Education & Social Change: Carriers of the Torch in the United States and South Africa*. New York & London: Teachers College, Colombia University, 2006. Page 20.

[77] One parent expressed her concern in saying; "They promised us better education. They campaigned and told us 'your vote is your voice'. Now there is nothing," said Tondani Lydia Masiphephethu."[77]

[78] Meiners 2012, Swain and Noblit 2011, Thompson, 2011, Smith 2010, and Kreuger 2010, and Noguera 2003.

and Latino males are punished disproportionately in relation to white students committing the same minor offenses.[79]Archer (2010), critically analyzed more current education data, with the same conclusion that, "African American students are subject to disciplinary actions in school settings more often than white students, and often for less severe infractions."[80] This sequence of studies demonstrates that educational discrimination is only worsening.

There are a number of institutional mechanisms by which youth of color are targeted or under-served by current education policies, including the overuse of zero-tolerance policies, high-stakes standardized testing, and with macro-and micro-sorting policies.[81] Exclusionary zoning in urban districts and limited public housing restrict school options for youth of color from low-income households (*macro-sorting*), while 'tracking' methods categorize youth by "academic ability", labeling some students as "gifted" with the implication that others are 'not-gifted' (*micro-sorting*).[82] "The disparate placement of minorities in low performing groups results in students of color receiving less academic instruction because…(they) are often subjected to rote curricula that lead to inattentiveness and lower attendance rates."[83] Expelled students face significant barriers to reentering school, increasing the likelihood of truancy and contact with the correctional system.[84] This combination of factors is now widely referred to as the 'push-out' effect, the repercussions of which are experienced most severely by already disadvantaged populations; youth of color, young people with learning disabilities, and those from low-income neighborhoods.[85]

In Louisiana specifically, 11 percent of youth, ages 16-19, are not in school and have not earned a high school diploma or a GED, while 70 percent of low-income young adults of color do not obtain a high school degree.[86] According to the Schott Foundation for Public Education in 2009, only 39 percent of Louisiana's black males graduated from high school, compared to 59

---

[79] Lewin, Tamar. *Black Students Face More Discipline, Data Suggests.* New York Times. Web. March 6, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/06/education/black-students-face-more-harsh-discipline-data-shows.html?_r=1

[80] Archer, Deborah N. 'Challenging the School-to-Prison Pipeline'. *New York Law School Law Review,* Vol 54 Issue 4 (2009/2010): 867-872.

[81] Meiners 2012, Swain and Noblit 2011, Thompson, 2011, Smith 2010, and Kreuger 2010, and Noguera 2003.

[82] Smith, Chauncee D. 'Deconstructing the Pipeline: Evaluating school-to-Prison Pipeline Equal Protection Cases Through A Structural Racism Framework'. *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, Vol 36 (Jan 2009): Page 1037.

[83] IBID.

[84] Meiners (2012), Swain and Noblit (2011), Thompson, (2011), Smith (2010), and Kreuger (2010), and Noguera (2003).

[85] IBID.

[86] Youth Empowerment Project, 2011. Web. http://www.youthempowermentproject.org/

percent of white males, a 20 percent disparity gap.[87] The majority of public schools in New Orleans are still *de facto* racially segregated.[88] A local education-reform group published a report stating that "Hurricane Katrina did not create the problems with public education in New Orleans-it uncovered them."[89] Before the hurricane, sixty-three percent of New Orleans' public schools were deemed academically unacceptable by Louisiana accountability standards in 2004-05.[90] In that same year, the school system faced bankruptcy while the state of Louisiana spent $96, 713 for each child kept in a detention facility, and $7, 877 on education per student in the public school system.[91] These statistics expose a significant crisis in the under-education and over-incarceration of young people of color in the American South.

Structural Violence in the Criminal Justice System

A 2008 study on incarceration levels worldwide, conducted by the International Center for Prison Studies, showed South Africa as having the highest rates per capita on the African continent, with 335 per 100.000 people in jail.[92] In 2011 alone, 846 children (under 18 years of age) were incarcerated in South Africa.[93] Reports by Hoffman (2009), and Human rights Watch (1994) describe a slow process of reform in post-apartheid correctional centers and prisons, having structural legacies of "authoritarian ideology" and inhumane conditions that impede rehabilitative agendas.[94]

As a result of South Africa's colonial past, the criminal and penal law is mainly based on Roman Dutch and English law. The death penalty was formally abolished in 1995, as was corporal punishment for young offenders. Despite legislation aimed at minimizing incarceration, custodial sentences are still very common, and very few sentences (less than 25% percent) result in community-based corrections.[95] This is partly due to the reality that disadvantaged

---

87 IBID.

88 Flaherty, Jordan. Floodlines: Community and Resistance from Katrina to the Jena Six. Chicago, IL: Haymaker Books, 2010. Pages 79, 80 and 135.

89 Green, Dee Dee and Mallory Falk. Youth Media as Education Reform. *Youth Media Reporter,* Issue 6 (2011).

90 IBID.

91 Flaherty, Jordan. Floodlines: Community and Resistance from Katrina to the Jena Six. Chicago, IL: Haymaker Books, 2010. Pages 79, 80 and 135.

92 Young in Prison, South Africa. Web: http:// www.younginprison.org.za

93 IBID.

94 Hoffman elaborates on the constructs of force, citing Fanon in describing prevalent methods of "militarism", a "culture of disciple" and the uniformity instilled by a historic and contemporary legacy of "silencing and punishment."[94]

95 Ward et al (2012), Muntingh and Ballard (2012), Naude (2006,) UNICEF (2005).

communities do not have the structures in place to implement supervision services, as they lack the resources.[96] South African courts also have a credibility problem among many African people, who regard the system as biased and oppressive and not representative of the population.[97] "Many Africans do not understand the system because colonization repressed customary law. European law emphasizes protection of the individual, whereas customary and indigenous law focused on the protection of the community."[98] Many South African youth do not receive legal representation and are uninformed about their legal options.[99]

Legal scholars, Muntingh and Ballard (2012), claim that a high percentage of prisons in South Africa do not consistently adhere to the national Correctional Services Act Sections 19(1), 19(2) and 19(3), which explicitly mandate provision of educational programs, social work services, religious care, recreational programs and psychological services for juveniles during both pre-and post-sentencing.[100] They reported that many prisons were not providing educational programs for youth and very few "constructive activities" were available and that youth were only allowed outside of their cells for a total average of seven hours per week.[101]

In Pollsmoor Prison, Munting and Ballard found that "no educational services are provided to pre-sentenced children. The warders explained this by saying that their periods of confinement were too short to warrant education."[102] Youth are incarcerated without mental stimulation or academic materials, while being exposed to highly organized prison gangs (the Numbers),[103] and are then returned to communities with very little emotional or material support. The incidence of recidivism is therefore more the norm than the exception. Additional factors contributing to juvenile prison recidivism are connected to extreme poverty and lack of jobs for young people, thus increasing the likelihood of committing theft crimes.[104]

In the United States, the criminal justice system features a separate procedural jurisdiction for youth offenders. The U.S. set a precedent when, in 1899, they were the first to

---

96 IBID.
97 Naude, Beaty. South Africa. *Teen Violence: A Global View*, ed. Allan M. Hoffman and Randal W. Summers. Westport Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 2001.
98 IBID; 16.
99 Ward et al (2012), Muntingh and Ballard (2012),
100 Muntingh, Lukas and Clare Ballard. *Report on Children in Prison in South Africa*. Cape Town, SA: Community Law Centre, 2012. Page 19.
101 IBID; Pages 20-21.
102 IBID; 36.
103 Roux, (2009) and Kynoch (2005).
104 Ward et al 2012, Hatt 2011, Naude 2001.

establish juvenile courts. The objective of a separate court system for juveniles was to provide optimum rehabilitation under the doctrine of *parens patriea,* a legal prerogative that 'the state as parent' is responsible for guardianship of its youth. However, a gradual shift in penal methodology and public interest over the past two decades has moved the emphasis away from rehabilitative treatment of youth offenders.[105] Public opinion has affected policy-changes in response to high-profile media coverage of violent, sometimes heinous, crimes committed by youth offenders.

Louisiana's penitentiaries have a notorious history of abuse, exploitation and corruption since inception. Historian, Mark Carleton (1971), recounts: "Prior to 1952 the (penal) system was essentially a business enterprise, administered either by politicians or by 'lessees', with both forms of management seeking to extract as much money as possible from the labor of thousands of semi-skilled 'state slaves'."[106] Now, Louisiana spends approximately $650 million a year to maintain over 40,000 inmates. Almost one third of that money goes directly into for-profit prisons, run by sheriffs or private companies.[107] The existence of for-profit prisons means there is a fiscal imperative to keep prisons filled. Marc Mauer, executive director of The Sentencing Project, points out the indirect implications; "the more that Louisiana invests in large-scale incarceration, the less money is available for everything from preschools to community policing that could help to reduce the prison population…You almost institutionalize the high rate of incarceration, and it's even harder to get out of that situation."[108]

Charges against New Orleans Parish prisons and Louisiana county jails have alleged extreme mistreatment of prisoners, unchecked violence from guards and between prisoners, and corruption at high levels of authority. Human Rights Watch (1995) produced a scathing report detailing accounts of maltreatment; "We found that substantial numbers of children in the state training institutions are regularly physically abused by guards, are kept in isolation for long periods of time, and are improperly restrained by handcuffs."[109] Sandy Davis (2005) discusses

---

[105] Cromwell, Paul F. and Rolando V. Del Carmen. *Community-Based Corrections.* 4th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing (1999). Pp 286-309.

[106] Carleton, Mark T. *Politics and Punishment: The History of the Louisiana State Penal System.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971. Page 193.

[107] Chang, Cindy. Louisiana is the World's Prison Capital. *The Times Picayune.* May 13, 2012. Web. http://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2012/05/louisiana_is_the_worlds_prison.html

[108] IBID.

[109] Human Rights Watch. *Children in Confinement in Louisiana*. October, 1995. http://www.hrw.org/reports/1995/10/01/children-confinement-louisiana.

the allegations of prison abuse in New Orleans, claiming that many mandated reforms to the juvenile justice system never occurred. Davis quotes Senator Donald Cravins Jr. in admitting, "Louisiana was once notorious for having the most brutal facilities in the country…some legislatures had the fortitude to try and stop that, but here we are five years later without much progress".[110] My research investigates the ways in which community-based organizations in New Orleans are initiating remedial models of support for youth offenders, during and after incarceration, while also addressing a need for correctional reform in education and juvenile justice.

IV. Factors Contributing to Violence in Cape Town and New Orleans

Youth in Cape Town and New Orleans are surrounded by pervasive class and race discrimination and are faced with a volatile environment marked by socio-economic deprivation. There are limited positive outlets for the mounting frustration, desperation and resentment experienced by these young people. In some cases, young men in particular, express violence as a means of self-empowerment in an otherwise constantly disempowering set of circumstances. Frantz Fanon framed this use of 'like with like' violence as a means to cast off the psychological and physical effects of violent colonization.[111] In certain ways, it parallels the contemporary use of violence by young people 'fighting back' against the indirect embodiments of subjugation, such as racial profiling and police-brutality. However, this expression of violence as empowerment can either be redirected as a concentrated source of energy towards radical change, or it can be turned in upon oneself and one's immediate world of experience.[112]

The choice to engage in violence is sometimes conscious and, more often, unconscious. Fanon wrote: "The colonized subject discovers reality and transforms it through his praxis, his deployment of violence and his agenda for liberation. We have seen it channeled through the emotional release of dance or possession. We have seen it exhaust itself in fratricidal struggles. The challenge now is to seize this violence as it realigns itself. Whereas it once reveled in myths

---

110 Davis, Sandy. LA: Youth Prison Abuse Alleged. *A Katrina Reader*. April 28, 2008. Web. http://katrinareader.org/youth-prison-abuse-alleged.

111 Ward et al 2012, Dubbleman 2011, Naude 2001.

112 Jean Paul Sartre wrote; It is Fanon's great contribution to our understanding of ethical judgment and political existence to insistently frame his reflections on violence, decolonization, national consciousness, and humanism in terms of the psycho-affective realm …but it is only ever mobilized into social meaning and historical through an embodied and embedded action, an engagement with (or resistance to) a given reality, or a performance of agency in the present tense."

and contrived ways to commit collective suicide, a fresh set of circumstances will now enable us to change directions."[113] Youth who are faced with daily violence can exercise their agency only in the dichotomous choice of either being pushed by violence or pulled by it, of being beaten down by violence or fighting back against it. There are, of course, multitudes of ways to 'fight' back without the use of violence, but such alternatives may be outside many youths' frame of experience.

Betty Naude (2001) contextualizes how current expressions of violence by South African are connected to the events of the apartheid era. "They saw the root of violence in the direct structural violence practiced by the state, particularly the activities of the police… Since the 16 June 1976 Soweto youth uprising when 140 school pupils were killed by the police…In the 1980s this resulted in many youths finding an alternative identity for themselves in the politics of resistance…Many youth now find new identity in gangs and other criminal activities."[114] Authors Cooper and Ward (2012), Roux (2009) and Kynoch (2005) give detailed accounts of the impact of gang involvement in reinforcing youth contact with the carceral environment, particularly under the influence of the Mareshea ('The Russians') and the Numbers gangs (26s, 27s, and 28s). Kynoch writes of a perceived battle for survival, a political and economic climate in which drugs and firearms are easier to come by than food, and of the many offshoots of these organized crime units that have become embroiled in devastating territory wars in urban townships.[115]

Gangs are a major feature in the lives of young people in South Africa and the American South. The topic of gang membership and its relationship to incarceration comprises a vast and highly relevant body of knowledge which is closely related to my research, but which is too expansive and complex to present in great detail here. In brief; youth gangs can be understood, among other explanations, as an alternative forum for developing identity, belonging, connectedness and empowerment, forming new 'opportunities' for economic and social capital within exclusionary political systems. For youth of color, in particular, gangs may offer an alternative milieu for participation, in contrast to the wider socio-political environment in which they are so often disenfranchised, criminalized and generally impeded from accessing full

---

[113] Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of The Earth. Translated from the French by Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press, 1961. Page 21.

[114] IBID; 6.

[115] Kynoch, Gary. *We Are Fighting The World: A History of Marashea Gangs in South Africa, 1947-1999.* Pietermaritzburg, SA: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 2005.

participation in civil society. The propensity for violent crime is, however, a close corollary to gang membership. The volatile combination of firearms and drugs, common 'capital' in gang circuits, intensely heightens the risk of violence and arrest. Thus, the cycle of structural violence perpetuates itself.

Poverty and Unemployment: A Source of Explosive Frustration

The effects of structural violence are often experienced most noticeably in areas of economic deprivation and exclusion, where eruptive anguish manifests in expressions of direct violence. In a study comparing poverty and violence across forty countries, there was found to be a consistent correlation between economic inequality and homicide rates.[116] A 2011 research report published in South Africa examined eight local (township) communities for underlying causes of youth violence as an outlet for grievances." The authors found that "young men were identified as being the main instigators and participants in the violence due to their frustration at being unemployed with no real economic opportunity or prospects available to them."[117]

It has become one of the defining truths about modern South Africa and its economic and social struggles: Soaring, endemic, potentially explosive levels of unemployment."[118] South Africa's official data-collection source puts current statistics of unemployment at 25,5 % in the third quarter of 2012.[119] In 2011, South Africa became the country with the most unequal society, having the greatest disparity of wealth in the world, in a population of roughly 50.5 million (as of 2011). [120] In a country with great mineral wealth, derived largely from gold, platinum and diamond mining, and a national GDP of 3.2 9/9, more than one quarter of the population is estimated to live on less than $2 USD daily. [121] William Gumede, a Black South African academic and author, discusses the lack of meritocracy in the socio-economic structure, stating; "there has been no real effort to lift black South Africans out of poverty by giving them

---

116 Winter, D. D., & Leighton, D. C. Structural violence. In D. J. Christie, R. V. Wagner, & D. D. Winter (Eds.), *Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology in the 21st century*. New York: Prentice-Hall. (2001).

117 Dubbelman, Bradley. *Community work programmes key to preventing collective violence.* Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. July 19, 2011. Web. http://www.csvr.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2364&Itemid=36.

118 Harding, Andrew. *South African Unemployment: Lies and Statistics*. British Broadcasting Corporation. Nov. 14, 2012. Web. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-20324189

119 Statistics South Africa. Web. http://www.statssa.gov.za/keyindicators/keyindicators.asp

120 Statistics South Africa. Web. http://www.statssa.gov.za. GDP according to data produced in the 2nd quarter of 2012. Poverty level from 2006.

121 IBID

quality state education and technical skills or to help small businesses grow."[122]

Gumede reported that the global economic crisis has greatly worsened the situation for already struggling South Africans, with nearly one million jobs lost between 2007 and 2009 alone, a fact that has contributed to widespread "despair and frustration", as seen in urban protests over inadequate services in residential areas and the violent Lonmin mine strikes in August, 2012.[123] "A lack of adequate skills and economic opportunities are major contributors to the high unemployment rates among the youth in Philippi (a historically Black township). This leads to low self-esteem among youth, drugs and alcohol abuse and forces them to revert to other means of income such as prostitution and crime. HIV / AIDS is on the rise, but usually denied due to stigma. High use of alcohol and a drug called 'tik' fuels crime, violence, rape and street gangs. In general youth are excluded from their community and perceived as troublemakers."[124]

In New Orleans, almost half of all children in the urban metro live in poverty; the national average is 20 percent, and statistical analysis reveals that over forty-percent of children in New Orleans live below the poverty threshold.[125] "New Orleans' case is particularly striking because the region was hit by not one crisis but three in five years (hurricane) Katrina, the Great Recession, and the Deepwater Horizon oil spill."[126] The US Census Bureau released a report in 2011 stating that "(i)ncome disparities in the New Orleans metro are particularly stark because white households locally earn significantly more than white households nationally, and black households locally earn significantly less than black households nationally."[127] In conjunction with these extremes in poverty, under-employment and unemployment, the city also suffers from exceedingly high rates of violence. In 2010, the FBI reported that the New Orleans murder rate was 10 times the national average. Louisiana's teen-death rate has risen by 11 percent since 2000, and nearly half – 46 percent – of teen homicide victims were residents of Orleans Parish.[128]

---

[122] Gumede. William. *Viewpoint: Will South Africa's anger boil over?* British Broadcasting Corportation. Aug. 23, 2012. Web. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19355104

[123] Gumede. William. *Viewpoint: Will South Africa's anger boil over?* British Broadcasting Corportation. Aug. 23, 2012. Web. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19355104.

[124] Cordaid Urban Matters. Web. http://www.cordaidurbanmatters.com/cities/cape-town

[125] United States Census Bureau. *Areas with Concentrated Poverty 2006-2010: American Community Survey Briefs*. Published December, 2011. Web. http://www.census.gov/prod/2011pubs/acsbr10-17.pdf.

[126] Greater New Orleans Community Data Center. Web. http://www.gnocdc.org/Demographics/index.html

[127] IBID. Web. https://gnocdc.s3.amazonaws.com/reports/GNOCDC_NewOrleansIndexAtSix_ExecutiveSummary.pdf

[128] Greater New Orleans Community Data Center. Web. http://www.gnocdc.org/Demographics/index.html

These statistics frame a set of circumstances in which youth who come from impoverished neighborhoods experience not only the effects of structural violence, in deficient education, abject poverty and discrimination, they are also consequently surrounded and effected by direct violence. An empirical analysis suggests a prevailing mindset that rationalizes the choice to participate in violence as; "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em". Turning to criminal means of income predictably involves exposure to drugs and firearms, as both are common commodities in illicit areas of commerce. Arrest-rates, however, do not necessarily reflect the actual numbers or types of crimes committed, as racial profiling attempts to justify the stereotyping of young black men as criminals, and consequently leads to disproportionate surveillance and sentencing of this population.[129] One out of three inmates in Louisiana reads below a fifth-grade level, and the majority did not complete high school.[130] A recent article in New Orleans' largest news publication, *The Times Picayune*, describes these realities from local perspectives:

> Around here, young men leave home for prison, not college… While the state spends millions of dollars each year locking up Central City residents, it has invested comparatively little in schools, recreation programs, job centers and health clinics…. 'They have no way out, and it becomes a hopelessness that permeates these communities because… there are no jobs,' said Phyllis Cassidy of the Good Work Network…Incarceration, for some, has become an expected fate… 'It's hard out here, and it's hard in there,' said Brandon Washington, who said he spent a year in the Orleans Parish jail on a drug charge but would rather have done time in a state prison like Hunt. 'In state, you get better treatment. You get to go outside.'[131]

There is clearly a need for extreme social and economic change is quite clear, in both Cape Town and New Orleans. The critical question is; if imprisoning young people who commit crimes not only does not improve the standards of safety or quality of life for impacted communities, but rather, undeniably worsens the circumstances in acutely and chronically harmful ways, what then *is* the solution? What are the alternatives?

VII. Alternatives to Youth Incarceration: Community Organizing and Youth Development

[129] Alexander, (2012) and Davis (2003).

[130] Chang, Cindy. Louisiana is the World's Prison Capital. The Times Picayune. May 13, 2012. Web.http://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2012/05/louisiana_is_the_worlds_prison.html

[131] Simmerman, John. Prison Rips up Families, Tears Apart Entire Communities. The Times-Picayune. 18 May, 2012. Web. http://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2012/05/prison_rips_up_families_tears.html

In 1973, the American National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals produced a recommendation stating that "no new institutions for adults should be built and existing institutions for youth should be closed."[132] And yet, conversely, from that point onwards the United States has sanctioned the most expansive development of penitentiary institutions in history, a phenomenon that has come to be known as 'the prison industrial complex'. Angela Davis describes this as a corporate project with "a set of symbiotic relationships among correctional communities, transnational corporations, media conglomerates, guards' unions, and legislative and court agendas."[133]

Marc Maurs, author of *The Race to Incarcerate,* suggests the US has "embarked on a great social experiment…No other society in human history has ever imprisoned so many of its own citizens for the purpose of crime control."[134] The United States currently spends $88,000 per year to confine a child in a residential facility (and in some states, like New York and California, more than double that amount), while alternative family-oriented therapy programs provide a benefit of $13.36 for every dollar spent.[135] Many states are beginning to reassess budget priorities (for criminal justice spending), but progress is slowed by persistent stereotypes that youth of color are incorrigible and that their families are to blame."[136] These indicators, and the following arguments for creating incarceration alternatives, represent a wide scope of rationalizations for consideration, while simultaneously acknowledging the urgency of the need.

Legislative Considerations

In 2007, the United States enacted federal legislation called the Youth Promise Act. This policy proposed "an alternative to tough on crime" tactics and acknowledged the need for investing in alternatives to youth incarceration for non-violent offenders. The Act proposed to "provide for evidence-based and promising practices related to juvenile delinquency and criminal street gang activity prevention and intervention to help build individual, family and community strength and resiliency to ensure that youth lead productive, safe, healthy, gang-free, and law-abiding lives. Taking an innovative approach to youth crime and delinquency, the Act

---

132 Alexander, Michele. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness.* New York: The New Press (2012). Page 8.

133 Davis, Angela. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press. 2003. Page 107.

134 *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment*. Edited by Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind. New York: New Press, 2002.

135 Justice for Families: http://www.justice4families.org/file/About.html

136 IBID.

seeks to establish nationally funded units at the local level to design an individualized approach, community by community, to address delinquent and at-risk youth. The preventative approach includes provisions for mentoring programs and intervention methods as alternatives to the current system of criminalizing youth behavior."[137] Youth advocates and community activists have embraced this bill with widespread approval, for its emphasis on the importance of individual and community development.

Fiscal Considerations

In 2009, the Justice Policy Institute published *The Costs of Confinement: Why Good Juvenile Justice Policies Make Good Fiscal Sense,* At the time, there were an estimated 93, 000 young people locked in juvenile justice facilities nationally. Seventy percent were held in state-funded residential centers, costing a daily average cost of $240 dollars per individual.[138] The major findings and recommendations for reform are as follow; 1) States spend billions of dollars a year incarcerating nonviolent youth; 2) The biggest states, California, New York, Ohio and Illinois, are realigning fiscal resources away from expensive state institutions and towards community-based serves; 3) High numbers of youth in secure facilities with poor conditions increase the likelihood of costly litigation; 4) Imprisoning youth can cause severe detriment to long term economic productivity of youth and the economic health of communities; 5) Policies that lock up more youth do not necessarily enhance public safety; 6) Community-based programs have shown to help reduce recidivism by up to 22 percent; 7) Community-based programs for youth are more cost-effective than incarceration.

Youth Developmental Considerations

Authors Scott & Steinburg argue that the adolescent stage of development merits special considerations in terms of cognitive and behavioral maturity. The authors put forth an "evidence based developmental model" of juvenile justice, which defines adolescence as an "intermediate legal category" that should be treated with separate legal mandates than adults, given the principles of proportionality inherent to the criminal justice system.[139] They argue that there is

---

[137] Boyd, Tona M. Confronting Racial Disparity: Legislative Responses to the School-To-Prison-Pipeline. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, Vol. 44, Issue 2 (2009): Page 579.

[138] IBID

[139] Scott, Elizabeth S. and Laurence Steinberg. *Rethinking Juvenile Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1st ed 2008. Reprinted 2010. Page 17

overwhelming evidence that, "mid-to late adolescence is a critical period for the development of the skills and competencies necessary for success in work, family, and citizenship roles and the importance of social environment in the accomplishments of these developmental tasks."[140] Citing the need for alternatives to detention, the authors assert that policy-reformers have inadequately addressed complex questions about the impact of adult punishment on adolescents.[141] The developmental model, according to Scott and Steinburg, is based on scientific research and is guided by principles that "maximize social welfare at the least cost" to states.[142]

Ethical and Sociological Considerations

The Community Justice Network for Youth (CJNY) operates as a nationwide network of community-based programs and organizations working to mitigate and resolve racial, economic and legislative disparities at every level of educational and correctional systems. In New Orleans, the Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana is an active member of the network. CJNY was formed in response to a surge in unprecedented "lock 'em up policies", and evolved as a network of advocates, organizers, service providers, family members and youth leaders who share the common goal of interrupting the cycle of detention and incarceration. The organization addresses inequities in the juvenile justice system, particularly among youth of color. CJNY members are united around a common belief that the juvenile justice system is failing in its core historic purpose: to rehabilitate youth. "A corner- stone of CJNY's collective philosophy is that secure detention is over-utilized, particularly for youth of color and poor youth, and that culturally and linguistically appropriate alternatives to detention should be used instead. 1) Children cannot be rehabilitated in cages. 2) All youth deserve to be treated equally and fairly by the systems that serve them. 3) All youth should be heard and included in decision-making processes that impact their lives. 4) To protect and improve the lives of youth of color and poor youth we must engage their communities. 5) Most young people in trouble with the law are best served by alternatives to incarceration. By bringing the communities most directly affected by justice policies to the

[140] Scott, Elizabeth S. and Laurence Steinberg. *Rethinking Juvenile Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1st ed 2008. Reprinted 2010. Page 22.
[141] IBID; 17
[142] IBID; 18

decision-making table, and providing them the information necessary to fully participate, we can address and change any disparate treatment of our youth." [143]

Civil Rights Considerations

Angela Davis asks a set of critical questions aimed at provoking thought around the reduction, and eventual abolition of incarceration as a form of industry and social control: "What, then, would it mean to imagine a system in which punishment is not allowed to become a source of profit? How can we imagine a society in which race and class are not primary determinants of punishment? Or one in which punishment itself is no longer the central concern in the making of justice?"[144] Civil rights issues continue to be closely tied to criminal justice issues, and must be included in considerations for developing alternatives to youth incarceration.

Community Initiative Considerations

There is both a will and a desire at community levels in the United States and South Africa to develop and implement interventions and informal social control in helping youth to break cycles of recidivism. Yet, there is currently a discrepancy in the necessary resources, training and organizational knowledge, to efficiently implement large-scale strategies. State and federal investment in these endeavors could significantly enhance the efficacy of the efforts that are already in progress. Evidence-based practices that reduce crime and prison recidivism could be developed according to the needs of specific populations, if there was more social, economic and political support for it. Justice for Families and the Data-Center, two American advocacy and research organizations, collaborated in a nation-wide study and subsequent policy report that highlighted the remedial strategies proposed by families of incarcerated youth.

The report, titled *Families Unlocking Futures: Solutions to the Crisis in Juvenile Justice*, makes the claim that, "prior commitment in a youth facility is twenty-six times a greater predictor of recidivism than "poor parental relationship". … Children involved in the justice system don't need to be saved from their families. Youth and families need to be supported so

---

143 Community Justice Network for Youth; The Burns Institute. Web. http://www.burnsinstitute.org/downloads/CJNY%20Publication.pdf

144 Davis, Angela. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003. Page 7.

they can succeed.[145] Michele Alexander, author of *The New Jim Crow*, endorsed the report by saying, "(t)his comprehensive study examines our youth prison system from the perspective of those who are most impacted—young people and their families… it demonstrates the power of their collective voice. This report shares their insightful observations as well as jaw-dropping data, revealing a system that is not just broken, but one that must be entirely transformed."[146]

Community and Youth Mobilization

In addressing the need for alternatives to youth incarceration, community-organizing is consistently referred to as an effective, affordable, and time-proven means of asserting informal social control in constructive mediums that engage youth in civic participation. Methods of engagement vary widely, involving youth in sports, sciences, creative arts, music, nature, religion, vocational skills and political-awareness, among other activities. The core objectives of community-organizing are to strengthen collective efficacy, enhance social cohesion, economic development and political visibility. This method of mobilizing groups around a common cause can be applied to any number of serious issues affecting a given population, particularly those who have been historically marginalized. "Community organizing as a tool for enhancing democracy and strengthening civil society is more relevant than ever. One could argue that 'Change' and 'Hope', two tenets of President Barack Obama's campaign, stem from community organizing concepts. The power to change and the capacity to hope are developed in communities that recognize the need for individuals to articulate their needs and assert their own power."[147]

In this eloquent description by Marita Mata, feminist scholar and author, the driving force of any and all types of community-organizing, is communication. "Today, in the framework of significant socioeconomic redefinitions, we find the proposals of various groups: women, urban dwellers, workers from the informal sector, youth, seniors and indigenous peoples. They resist different forms of social marginalization and develop alternatives in the areas of production, work, culture and daily social life. They organize at the local level and beyond and present their

---

[145] Reclaiming Futures: Communities Helping Teens Overcome Drugs, Alcohol and Crime. 13, Sept, 2012. Web. http://www.reclaimingfutures.org/blog/families-unlocking-futures

[146] Justice for Families website: http://www.justice4families.org/file/Home.html

[147] *Social Change Leadership Network Learning Session on Community Organization.* Research Center for Leadership in Action. October, 2009. Web. http://wagner.nyu.edu/leadership/news/SCLNCommunityOrganizing1009.php

demands to public or private authorities…They begin to form their languages, begin to produce new discourses: It is not a discourse about the others but of us, a discourse that transforms non-recognition into legitimacy, exclusion into presence…From a communicative perspective, it is in the area of discursive production where a repertory of possible identities unfolds."[148]

In a foremost publication on community organizing in South Africa, *The Politics of Necessity*, author Elke Zuern discusses the concept of "conscientizing communities around a discourse of rights (sic)", in forging the practicable connections between basic material needs and wider political interests. The author makes the argument that the "process of consciousness-raising works only when it incorporates and builds on the interests of local movement participants."[149] Building on this idea of civic engagement as a process that must begin at the source, the first stages of community mobilization seek to procure immediate material needs before segueing to the development of more constructive channels for securing general rights and access to further opportunities. This process of "conscientizing" is referred to by activists as "political education" to facilitate connections between the group's physical needs or problems and "the broader political structure and their lack of representation and voice.[150] Ntsokolo Daniel Sandi, a South African civic leader, defines this form of civic engagement as, "a community school where residents learn about their rights as residents/rate payers and how to unite against their daily constraints and frustrations."[151]

Kim-Ju, Mark, Cohen and Garcia-Santiago (2008) discuss community mobilization and its application to youth violence prevention, in which the authors describe methodologies specific to my research. In acknowledging the strengths of community- organizing for multiple social and political goals, the realm of youth violence in particular poses a range of challenges, including the multi-dimensionality of obstacles experienced at structural and individual levels. Kim-Ju and co-authors present several techniques for engaging with youth, and motivating youth to engage with their own developmental goals. Participatory-Action Research and a Collaborative Betterment Model are discussed as constructive, control-sharing strategies. Another approach is "based in public health considerations that identify three levels of

---

148 Mata, Marita. Being Women in Popular Radio. In *Women in Grassroots Communication: Furthering Social Change*. Edited by Pilar Riaño. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications Inc., 1994. Page 199.
149 Zuern, Elke. *The Politics of Necessity: Community Organizing and Democracy in South Africa*. London and Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012. Page 45.
150 IBID: 48.
151 IBID: Pages 3-4.

intervention; primary (preventing violence before it occurs), secondary (reducing risk factors associated with violence), and tertiary (reducing negative effects stemming from violence). Community mobilization approaches can be designed to address all three levels, and thereby facilitate a move from the punitive model of the judicial system to a model based on strength."[152] These strategies help identify the multiple stages and specificities of need, which may require slightly varying strategies, depending on the youth and the environment.

Youth Participation: Towards Enhanced Agency

A growing youth movement has built upon the successes and lessons learned from community organizing and youth development methodologies, while combining elements of both theories in ways that promote individual and collective action towards civic and political goals.[153] Melvin Delgado and Lee Staples contribute to the literature on this subject with a comprehensive publication of literary, theoretical and research based knowledge about youth-led organizing. The authors describe the emergence of youth development as a "youth-led paradigm" that is significant not only for mobilizing the potential to address problems such as youth incarceration, but also because it is "effectively transforming young people from their traditional roles as consumers, victims, perpetrators, and needy clients to positive assets who are quite capable of being major contributors within their respective communities."[154] Youth participation and youth-led interventions can be expressed in a wide variety of ways, including social enterprises, political campaigns, neighborhood-events planning, school-based projects and public-awareness-building around issues that impact them.[155]

There is a crucial component to youth-mobilization that is scarcely addressed in the literature, involving the specific features of cultural production for youth of color. In a ground-breaking article, *Toward a Politics of Relevance: Race, Resistance and African American Youth Activism*, Shawn Ginwright addresses the fact that social science research around African-

---

[152] Kim-Ju, Greg et al. Community Mobilization and Its Application to Youth Violence Prevention. *American Journal of Preventative Medicine*, Vol. 34 (2008): 5-12.

[153] Delgado, Melvin and Lee Staples. *Youth-Led Community Organizing: Theory and Action*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. Page 7.

[154] Delgado, Melvin and Lee Staples. *Youth-Led Community Organizing: Theory and Action*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. Page 6.

[155] IBID; 7.

American youth identity in has primarily focused on the problems this population faces in terms of school failure, violence, crime and substance abuse.[156]

> While a deeper understanding of these social problems is indeed important, the narrow focus on problems obscures the complex ways in which youth respond, challenge and sometimes transform the conditions in their schools and communities. As a result of this narrow focus, we are left with an understanding of African American youth that centers primarily on understanding problems, prevention and pathology and does not sufficiently explain how they engage in civic and political behavior.
>
> Black youth in urban communities struggle to "not get caught up" in complex systems of control and containment, and their identities are often constructed in resistance to racist stereotypes and unjust public policies. Their struggle for identity is played out through the expression of new and/or revived cultural forms such as hip-hop culture, rap music and/or various forms of political or religious nationalism which redefine, reassert and constantly reestablish what it means to be urban and black.

Exploring the theme of politically relevant means of activism and positive identify-formation within African-American urban culture, as well as for Black youth internationally, music and spoken word (hip-hop) are powerful mediums for transmitting youth-driven ideas for social change. Youth activist and author, Adriana Clay suggests that "(s)ome youth embrace hip-hop culture, music, and performance to articulate their ideologies and create political identities, as this genre most accurately reflects the lives, language and rhythm of youth of color, particularly in urban areas. Both youth of color and white youth have turned to hip-hop to understand and create community with one-another."[157]

Hip-hop is a form of communication that is creatively fluid, allowing youth to relate and convey expressive empowerment within a knowledge base that is radical and liberating. There is, however, a dichotomy in hip-hop culture that is somewhat analogous to the previously abstracted discussion of Fanon's work on violence as an expression of agency that is potentially both constructive and destructive. Hip-hop also has diverging expressions of agency in polar extremes. There are those forms that transmit socially-conscious, counter-hegemonic, deeply defiant messages but which focus on the power of words themselves, and knowledge, as a means of 'fighting back'; while other forms of hip-hop channel condensed anger, with messages that

---

[156] Ginwright, Shawn. *Toward a Politics of Relevance: Race, Resistance and African American Youth Activism*. June 7, 2006. In Youth Activism: Social Science Research Council. Web Forum. http://ya.ssrc.org/african/Ginwright/

[157] Clay, Adreana. *The Hip-Hop Generation Fights Back: Youth, Activism, and Post-Civil Rights Politics*. New York: New York University Press, 2012. Page 8.

demean women and glorify a lifestyle of violence and drugs. This is an important feature of my research that speaks to the concept of cultural *re*-production as a process whereby youth can convey their concerns and ideas in self-developed platforms for participation that engage, even strengthen, their social and political agency in meaningful, relevant ways.

IX. Summary of the Remedial Responses: "For the People, By the People"

Restorative methodologies found in community-organizing practices place an emphasize on the values of self-awareness and agency, augmented by skills-building, and supported by strong social support networks. The literature on community mobilization and youth development contributes to a burgeoning body of research that challenges the normative view that incarceration is a reasonable form of deterrence, while demonstrating the viability of alternatives.[158] The debate goes on about what types of programs are most effective, but research in community-based intervention projects continues to show compelling evidence that they offer a wide range of remedial strategies to support desistence, reduce crime and incarceration recidivism for youth. These strategies benefit public safety as well as positive youth development, in a symbiotic scenario that is cost effective and socially progressive.

[158] Ward et al, 2012; Steinberg & Smith, 2010; Thompson, 2008; Marun, 2004; Petersilia, 2003; Cromwell & Del Carmen, 1999.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY
"Respect, Trust, Attention"

"I think, you know, when someone's doing crime all the time, people where we live (Guguletu township), they look at us like we're nothing. No respect, no trust, no attention... Those are the most special things… guys need. Give them quality time, listen to them, make them feel special. That is the thing that will change choice of lifestyle."
Lusindo, formerly incarcerated youth

I. Introduction

This study builds upon an epistemological approach that argues that the 'problems' and 'remedies' related to youth incarceration and recidivism can be better understood through examining the insights and ideas produced by the people who are affected by these issues. This research seeks to highlight this local knowledge, which is seldom included in the hegemonic discourse around methods of punishment. My approach was to investigate a small, specific case study of local perceptions in New Orleans and Cape Town, in order to better understand the larger issues of youth imprisonment and recidivism. I attempt to evaluate how these findings coincide with or challenge the dominant discourse on disciplinary and punitive methodologies for youth who exhibit 'deviant behavior'.

Additionally, this research examines the barriers to 'bottom-up' remedies. These include the internal challenges, such as securing resources and coordinating services, to the meta-obstacles embedded in structural racism and neoliberal restructuring of educational and correctional systems. My research questions inquire into the areas of vulnerability and need within a continuum of rehabilitative practices, placing an emphasis on reintegration. Most importantly, I seek to amplify elements of counter-knowledge in the discursive formations of community-based practices as they provide alternatives to the dominant discourse of punitive methodologies. Highlighting those perspectives that provide critical insights and qualitative experiences could then expand the official discourse on how youth can constructively break the cycle of recidivism. Central to this is an investigation of how youth themselves are involved in the construction of remedies to their own challenges, with a critical analysis of the degree to which youth actively inform and participate in the process.

II. Epistemologies

The aim of my research is to find answers to these questions: *How do local actors who are working to mitigate youth crime, incarceration and recidivism define and frame the*

problems? How are local actors developing remedies to these problematic issues? What are their definitions and practices? In seeking answers, I approached my research and data collection from a standpoint based in grounded theory. The questions are process-oriented, incorporating discursive formations of 'problem' and 'remedy', as well as the practices created to address them. In asking questions about 'how' these processes occur, the research data inherently drives the development of theoretical analysis, rather than an imposed theoretical framework presupposing the sample's empirical dynamics. "Grounded theory writing preserves and presents the form and content of the analytic work. Rather than spotlighting actors or authors, grounded theory places ideas and analytic frameworks on center stage…Grounded theories dig deep into the empirical and build analytic structures that reach up to the hypothetical."[159]

In this research study, the 'hypothetical' realm is that of restorative (rehabilitative) practices. I first compare the research findings from Cape Town and New Orleans to determine how the local-practices address rehabilitation. I then compare these local epistemologies and practices with each other and with the correctional systems of their respective societies. In a final meta-analysis I interrogate the implications of these counter-discourses for the official discourse of 'punishment' and 'productivity' in a neoliberal capitalist system.

Conducting research with people impacted by incarceration requires critical considerations regarding the adverse impacts the research may have on involved individuals and communities. Researcher Ida Dupont endorses the Participant Action Research (PAR) methodology because it recognizes participants as experts in their own lives.

> PAR could be used with marginalized communities who are harmed not just by crime, but also by the criminalization process and wide-reaching negative consequences of many criminal justice interventions…Even today, much criminological research takes the form of applied research aimed at assisting criminal justice agencies with crime detection, prevention and control…The idea that research should be useful is a guiding principle of Participatory Action Research. However, PAR differs from traditional criminological research by placing communities most directly affected by crime in the central role of clarifying their own problems and acting to resolve them instead of relying almost exclusively on experts for answers and the criminal justice system for putting solutions into place.[160]

---

[159] Charmaz, Kathy. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis.* London, Thousand Oaks New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2006. Page 151.

[160] Dupont, Ida. Beyond Doing No Harm: A Call for Participatory Action Research with Marginalized Populations in Criminological Research. *Critical Criminology*, Vol 16 (July 2008): 197-207.

This last point in particular closely coincides with the methodology I emulate in my research. Although the methods I used were not strictly in line with PAR methods, (due mainly to time constraints), I have maintained the overarching perspective of participant-as-expert in my research. I have drawn significant methodological influence from Paolo Freire and bell hooks, both of whom worked within similar paradigms. Both writers discuss education as an opportunity for inclusive mutual-learning environments, in which the concept of 'teacher' and 'student' is not rigidly defined, and wherein the core themes of study are subjects of direct interest, relevance and access for the participants. Popular education and popular communication epistemologies also advance social change as a learning experience that grows from within, rather than being influenced by an external discourse or agenda. This approach to self-development allows formerly disempowered or marginalized individuals to engage in a new experience of knowledge production, whereas institutionalized learning has so often been a tool of indoctrination and marginalization.

Clifford Geertz, an influential anthropologist, candidly explored the epistemological limitations of ethnography by calling it a "human-dilemma over and above a professional one".[161] In citing the familiar 'insider'/'outsider' debate, Geertz suggested that the anthropologist's (or sociologist-researcher's) job is not to try to know *how* "natives think feel, and perceive", but rather to develop "experience-near" concepts to represent degrees of understanding.[162] Geertz suggested a non-normative approach, emphasizing that we ought not to gravitate too drastically or dogmatically to the polarities of 'emic versus etic', 'phenomenological versus objectivist', or 'cognitive versus behavioral' in terms of interpretation. "Confinement to experience-near concepts leaves the ethnographer awash in immediacies, as well as entangled in vernacular. Confinement to experience-distant ones leaves him stranded in abstractions and smothered in jargon."[163] Geertz suggested that a researcher navigate fluidly, adjusting one's approach and interpretive analysis according to the circumstances rather than theoretical dialectics.

Building on Geertz's thinking, Emerson et al, warned of 'imposing exogenous meanings' in the process of interpreting data. "Ethnographic writings are inevitably filtered through the

---

[161] Geertz, Clifford. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. USA: Basic Books, Inc. (1983/2000). Page 56.
[162] IBID; 57-59.
[163] IBID; 57.

perceptions, experiences, and commitments of the ethnographer…But in writing for such outside audiences, ethnographers seek to begin with and build upon members' meanings and theories rather than their own."[164] This requires a researcher to recognize the inherent limits in reproducing original data and further attempting to produce conceptual analysis in order to engage an academic audience who is experientially far-removed from the origins of the data. Essentially, a researcher must serve as a sort of knowledge-bridge, connecting disparate realms of experience while maintaining the core integrity of the material throughout.

Another methodological consideration recognizes that the interactions between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' can potentially provide a catalyst for enhanced understanding of the issues by all parties involved. The process of engaging one another in inquiry can reveal epistemological complexities within a group that may not have previously been explored. This is a potentially symbiotic relationship that has equal potential to become exploitive or manipulative through misunderstandings or abuse of trust. The bodies of knowledge widely accepted by the public are generally those that have been institutionalized, and thus gain precedence as the dominant discourse. As most researchers embody this institutional approach, they represent the dominant knowledges, meaning that relations with research participants are structurally asymmetrical in almost all cases. The same is true of relationships between NGOs and non-profits in relation to marginalized communities. The relationship between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' is not intrinsically asymmetrical, but the inevitable differences in mutual interpretation can be misread or mishandled through ignorance, naiveté, or manipulation of power-dynamics. In any concerted collaboration between researcher and informant, or community member and advocacy-leader, there must be conscious awareness of the expectations each has of the other, and recognition of whether or not they are realistic or potentially exploitive.

Often, the people most invested in addressing a problem are already spending their limited resources on remedies they deem most appropriate to their situation. However, they may not have the resources, information, or expertise to affect the best practices. In such cases, they could benefit from further exposure to information about outside practices, knowledge and potential connections with other groups working on the same issues. Popular education and participant action research are based on the recognition of the value of such collaborative

[164] Emerson, et al. Writing Ethnograohic Fieldnotes. 2nd Ed. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011. Page 130

relationships. These approaches seek to introduce methods of organizing, articulating and disseminating the concepts that are generated from within the group. Education, in this sense, is an expansive practice connecting multiple actors, views and methods of communication for the purpose of social change.

The researcher navigates an unmarked path of interactions, observations and interpretations, while attempting not only to find 'the way' but to emerge having 'found something'. This somewhat paradoxical endeavor involves a significant responsibility. A researcher may be more interested in either 'finding something' or trying to discern 'the way', but the fact remains that one is something of a vagabond traveler in another people's 'forest' of lived experience. It behooves the researcher as well as the field of qualitative, sociological and anthropological research, to approach these territories and their inhabitants with self-awareness and a profound regard for the intricacies of the unknown. I share the view of researchers Fine and Torre, who conducted participatory action research in prison, and who point out that; " (t)he critical role of the 'outsider' who is 'privileged' to speak is (necessarily) interrogated, as is the responsibility to bear witness as the walls of prison consume communities of color and poverty."[165] In other words, as an outside observer who is not necessarily privy to, nor impacted by, the issues that one's research seeks to highlight, one must recognize the inherent honor of being allowed to be an interloper, informant and interpreter when transmitting a body of knowledge to which one has not personally contributed.

III. Participant Sample

Here I present the individuals with whom I collaborated for my research. By collaboration I mean that I approached data collection from a position of inviting individuals who were already involved in a process of popular education and communication, to participate in my research study. I framed the offer as a forum for those individuals to share their thoughts on the issues and ideas related to their personal experiences with incarceration and rehabilitation. Therefore, all of the participants in the sample were fully informed of the subject and nature of my thesis research.[166]

---

[165] Fine, Michelle and Maria Elena Torre. Intimate Details: Participatory Action Research in Prison. *Action Research*, Vol. 4 Issue 3 (2006). Page 253.

[166] See Apendix for IRB forms.

For the purpose of this paper, I include a specific selection of people in my definitions of 'youth' and 'community'. I refer to young people between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five as 'youth', however, all participants in my research were eighteen or older (but under twenty-five). The term 'community' is intended to include individuals and groups within a given urban demographic who are specifically engaged in community-building endeavors. I also included certain non-profit organizations as being members of a given community; in Cape Town I included only one, in New Orleans there are multiple. The criterion for being included as 'community' was whether the organization is locally run and, or, operated by individuals who are, themselves, members of the demographic that the organization seeks to serve. Young in Prison, in Cape Town, fits this criterion closely, as many of the facilitators are from the same townships as youth in the programs. However, it should be noted that there is invariably some asymmetry of power and influence; the non-profit and community-based programs can secure funding and are formerly structured in ways that allow them access and opportunities not afforded to individual members of the community, particularly in terms of political efficacy.

In Cape Town, the sample population was comprised of five different groups: staff members from the non-profit organization, (Young in Prison), where I interned; incarcerated youth at Pollmsoor Prison, post-release youth participating with Young in Prison's reintegration program; Philipi Township community members, and staff from Pollsmoor Prison. In all groups, the participants were of Black African and mixed-race heritage (self-described as 'Coloured'). All participants spoke English to varying degrees of fluency, as well as their respective mother language of Xhosa, Africans, and in some cases Zulu (individuals originally from Eastern South Africa); the only exception in this case were the community members in Philipi who spoke exclusively Xhosa.

For New Orleans research I surveyed secondary data to determine which local, non-profit organizations and community-based programs were operated and, or, run by members of the same population being served. I sought out the groups who are actively involved in addressing issues of youth incarceration and recidivism. The majority of these groups are coalitions of family-members, educators, school teachers, activists, youth advocates and students who are mobilizing at local levels to mitigate the school-to-prison pipeline in New Orleans. This sample group is predominantly African American, with significant representation of Latino and Vietnamese populations as well.

IV. Setting: Cape Town

I conducted the primary research in Cape Town, South Africa, over a period of one month. I collected data from three sites, all of which were accessed through the auspices of the non-profit organization where I interned. The office was located in an area called Salt River, on the Western periphery of central Cape Town. It served as an activity center for the young adults in YiP's Post-Release program, where they could spend time on computers to work on resumes or search for employment. The office space consisted of a large group-office where Life-Skills Facilitators and Post-Release participants could use computers; additional office rooms were shared by the Executive Director, General Manager, Advocacy and Communications Coordinator, and a separate anteroom in a small courtyard housed the Post-Release office; the kitchen and bathroom were open to all staff, participants and guests. There were no rigidly enforced rules of protocol and humorous interludes to work-sessions were common.

In my position as a volunteer workshop facilitator I was able to gain entrance to Pollsmoor Maximum Security Prison[167], where I conducted creative arts and communication-skills classes in the single-cell section of the juvenile ward. Pollsmoor was established in 1964 in an outlying Southern suburb of Cape Town, called Tokai. It has an earned reputation for overcrowding; with a capacity for just over 4000 inmates, in five separate facilities, it consistently contains over 6000 prisoners.[168] The juvenile unit was not constructed specifically for juveniles, but rather serves as a 'transition' facility while offenders await sentencing to the adult prison or other correctional centers. In Medium B section, where I spent most of my time, the youth were all still under the South African 'adult age' of twenty-five but were isolated from the rest of the main population due to the severity of their crimes (aggravated robbery and murder), with sentences between three and fifteen years.

The third site of data collection was a 'social dialogue' event facilitated by Young in Prison, held in the township of Philipi. This informal development is a twenty-minute car ride from central Cape Town, or, for most residents, an hour by train or multiple-taxis. The transportation is cost-inhibitive for many of the township's residents, as expressed by the youth

---

[167] The permit process required numerous notarized personal documents, which I sent to South Africa two-months prior to my arrival there; See Appendix for prison permit.

[168] The higher number of prisoners was supplied first by YiP staff who have worked in Pollsmoor for nearly a decade, and again by a prison staff member.

from that community who participate in the YiP post-release program (YiP pays for their travel). Most of the homes in Philipi are constructed of scrap wood and corrugated metal, in stark contrast to the new school where the social dialogue event was held. Some private funders sponsored the school's construction, but it was erected on a strip swampland, so puddles and mosquitos are a year-round issue for the students (according to the town mayor, who served as the intermediary between YiP and the township members). Young in Prison was offered a small room at the back of the building, and the hallway beyond it, to host an anticipated one hundred attendees. A woman from Philipi was hired to cater the food, (a piece of chicken, French fries and one piece of white bread, with tea and instant coffee.) The sound system was a single mike connected to a basic sound board, operated by two local youth, with one speaker propped against a table. Artwork from the Pollsmoor workshops, created by the youth inmates, decorated the walls of the room.

V. Insider-Outsider Considerations in the Research

Emic & Etic Representation

The terms 'etic' (meaning, loosely, 'insider') and 'emic' (loosely, 'outsider') describe the epistemological barriers to understanding the 'truth' of others' lived experience. The terms *etic* and *emic* are derived from linguistics, originally coined by Kenneth L. Pike to describe elements of nonverbal communication. These terms have since been adopted and considerably adapted by the fields of anthropology, sociology, psychology and cross-cultural research. An example of the relationship between emics and etics is provided by integrative-philosopher Michael Polanyi who wrote; "I cannot say clearly how I ride a bicycle …(for I do not know it clearly), yet this will not prevent me from saying that I know how to ride a bicycle." An analogy can reframe 'emics' as the ability to ride a bicycle and 'etics' as the knowledge of how it is accomplished.[169]

These concepts relate to my research in that I recognized the inherent limits to the collection of knowledge containing the etic qualities of cultural epistemology, communication and practices. These qualities may also be unconscious to members of the cultural group, even as the emic indicators of such knowledge are recognizable (ie; certain things are done in certain ways without questioning or knowing why or how they are that that way). I attempted to include in my observations those elements of communication that are non-verbal, while acknowledging

[169] IBID: 33.

the potential for misinterpreting them. I aimed to convey those observations in writing, without prescriptive or evaluative connotations.

Self-location

My research with young men of color from highly unstable socio-economic backgrounds[170] took place in a setting within which they were essentially powerless while being punished for behavior that they themselves may not understand in terms of etic significance (how and why they committed crime). These individuals draw from empirical experience to form an impression of who I am. They may have seen only a (relatively) wealthy, white, college student, a female who could not possibly imagine the harshness of their lives, someone who was perhaps curious about them but could never truly understand them. Their impression of me does not convey my own experience of incarceration or hardship, but neither do I have any real impression of the other, potentially positive, influences in their lives, outside of prison.

In recognition of the differences that may limit the research-knowledge I could develop, I pursued procedures by which I could try to transcend some of these limitations. I was able to observe some of the everyday conditions of life that structure experience and feeling, in an admittedly narrow frame of reference, and through triangulation of research methods I sought to identify their expressions of knowledge rather than try to make it fit a previously-constructed framework of academic discourse.

Identifying Appropriate Research Participants

Communities who are impacted by the cycle of incarceration are already equipped to identify their own challenges, needs and obstacles and likewise have inherent potential for developing ideas to mitigate them. However, this does not necessary guarantee that members of a community are, in fact aware of them (beyond the emic recognition of a 'problem'). Nor does it mean they have the available time and resources to confront the problem or even the will or desire to seek remedies. Perhaps some people feel it is not the responsibility of the collective, but of the individual and the individual's family, or of the government, to provide intervention. This is a crucial methodological consideration when approaching a sample group for research. And it follows naturally that the 'insider's' willingness to share their experience is a necessary

[170] This is an emic assumption based on prior research and 'informant' knowledge about these individuals' backgrounds.

prerequisite to an 'outsider's' desire to amplify it. My research was gathered from participants who were already voluntarily engaged with an organization, Young in Prison, and were committed to remedial development as well as public outreach. This fact considerably advantaged my data collection.

Unconscious Biases

I recognized that I must surely have involuntary or unconscious biases, and that it would be critical to identify them, to the best of my ability, before conducting research. On reflection, I acknowledged that I have perhaps overindulged my empathy towards youth caught in the criminal justice system. My tendency is to over-sympathize with their plight, sometimes forgetting to recognize that they are also authors of their own will and aware of risks and consequences. I may also have an exaggerated sense of shared class with the participants because I also grew up poor (by American standards), yet I have reminded myself aware that the individuals and communities I seek to engage with are debilitated by poverty in ways I can hardly begin to comprehend. Another potential element of bias relates to imagined or a real 'connection' based on a certain elements of counter-culture self-identification (most noticeably apparent in tattoos), which is actually, at most, only a superficial signifier of shared experience. Additionally, I may have a heightened sense of shared defiance against authority, a trait well ingrained in my own teen years with 'deviant' behavior, but whereas I had resources, options and support, the young men in South African prisons do not necessarily have those protective factors. I tried to remain aware of these biases as I interacted with the research participants. Because I was able to identify them beforehand, it made it easier to remind myself while in South Africa, to stay present in any exchange without ladening it with additional significance or meaning.

Condescension: The 'Savior Complex'

On countless occasions I have witnessed (and also read about) well-intentioned 'outsiders' who claimed to be 'helping' some poor, disadvantaged group of people in an under-developed country. While giving the benefit of the doubt as to good intentions, I have nevertheless developed a cynical perception of such scenarios. The reason being, principally, that there may be an assumption regarding the supposed desire for help, and a further assumption that the mode of 'help' delivered by the 'do-gooder' is necessarily the appropriate one. Entirely too

often there is a failure on the part of the outsider to simply inquire whether there *is*, in fact, a desire for help, and if so, *how* it might be done to best suit the specific needs of the people receiving this aid. In an effort to bypass any possibility of inadvertently replicating this dynamic, I tried to remain diligently conscious of these factors and to consistently reassert my roles of 'observer' and 'participant' in a research capacity. I attempted to maintain an unobtrusive yet responsive position in all settings, while agreeing to help in whatever manner I was called upon to do so.

VI. Data Collection

It is important to first state some of the limitations to my goal of seeking representative perspectives as close to the 'source' as possible. One of the most important limitations was language. All participants in the organization and in Pollsmoor spoke English competently but not as a first language, while in the social dialogue event most discussion was done in Xhosa. I triangulated methods with NGO policy-analysis, participant observation (in two different sites) and interviews. I gathered data from three sites: Pollsmoor Prison in Retreat, a Southern suburb of Cape Town; the Young in Prison office, located in a labor-union community building in a peripheral urban district called Salt River; and in Philipi Township, an informal settlement located approximately twenty minute's drive from central Cape Town.

In total, this data draws from communications by formerly incarcerated youth, currently incarcerated youth, non-profit staff, community members, and prison staff. These sources of data provide varying weights of insight, each eliciting a limited but crucial perspective into subjects with a wide range of potential perspectives. The interviews were a one-time interaction but provided in-depth responses to specific questions. Participant observation in Pollsmoor prison yielded sustained but indirect information about the unique issues experienced by youth themselves; non-verbal interactions, drawings and writing exercises also contributed to this data set. The social dialogue event was an isolated incident but provided broader, more inclusive and varied views, albeit interpreted largely through group dynamics, individual affect and second-hand explanations from YiP staff or Post-release members. My personal involvement was most concentrated in the interviews; less so in Pollsmoor as I was co-facilitating quasi-structured activities; and least in the social dialogue event as I only observed and assisted in writing translations of participants' discussion.

My method for data collection was derived from ethnographic notes of daily interactions, discussions and activities. I generally wrote notes after leaving the prison, during the ninety-minute ride back to Cape Town. Occasionally I wrote brief notes during our activities; they often asked me what I was writing and I showed them both the writings (with my indecipherable handwriting) and explained that I wrote down words to help me remember what we had done each day. When organizing the findings into units of analysis I looked through my notes for indications of issues that they struggled with or associated with their trajectory of crime and incarceration. In the same way I looked for expressions of hope, goals, statements of self-motivation or acknowledged support factors from external sources. In short, I coded for risk and protective factors as described in their own language, interactions, drawings and nonverbal behavior.

For the interviews I asked the same approximate questions, in different sequences and with varying lines of inquiry, allowing the interviewee's specific responses and proclivity for disclosure to guide the format of the interview. I asked open-ended questions pertaining to causes of high crime and youth incarceration, views on rehabilitation methods, processes of experiencing or facilitating positive change, personal goals, descriptions of how supportive relationships are formed, stages and methods of intervention, vulnerability in the continuum of rehabilitative services and needs for further development or alteration of strategies.[171] In many cases, I found that the less I tried to direct the interview or 'keep it on track', the more the interviewee offered voluntary disclosure of a broad spectrum of thoughts on topics which I would not have known to ask about directly. In all cases I interjected minimally, with nonverbal cues to encourage them to speak. I nodded my head, made affirmative sounds and tried to maintain a natural attentiveness with eye contact and acknowledgement, while hand-writing notes. Initially I had a digital voice recorder, however it broke during the first interview and I decided that the casual, informal arrangement was more beneficial to self-disclosure than the dynamic of being recorded (most participants have little or no exposure to electronics).[172]

In total, I conducted twelve interviews; three with staff members from Young in Prison; five with former inmates, ages 19-25, all of whom are participants in Young in Prison's Post-Release Program; two individual members of township communities that are independently

[171] See Appendix for full interviews.
[172] See Appendix for interview release forms

doing advocacy work; and two members of Pollsmoor's Youth Rehabilitation Services Department. Additionally, I observed an Appreciative Inquiry (AI)[173] interview between YiP facilitator and two Pollsmoor inmates, both aged nineteen, and also received the transcripts to another YiP-staff AI-interview with a Post-Release participant. Due to IRB restrictions I was not permitted to interview current inmates, but was granted permission to use the data from the AI discussions, a valuable asset to understanding youth views by eliciting feedback and suggestions from the participants of a program. That section is clearly indicated as being Young in Prison's research and not my own.

Data Analysis

The system of analysis I used is derived from grounded theory, seeking to develop an analytical theory informed by concepts produced in participant narratives and activities. I organize the data into three units of analysis; *Individual, Community and Government* (from 'levels of focus' identified by YiP), under which I categorized the direct responses of participants as they relate to those areas. I present the findings for each of the four sources of data to make clear the focus of each group, in order to see where there may be overlap or discrepancy between other groups. At the end of this chapter I summarize the complete findings and examine the overall concerns of the groups involved, assessing the challenges, obstacles and advancements to the expressed remedies.

In Chapter Five I present secondary data for analysis. I utilize the same methods of data collection as in Cape Town, with the exemption of participant observation, by drawing on internal documents, secondary interviews and 'gray-literature' publications. For this chapter I maintain the format used to present the Cape Town findings, and in the same way I apply the three categories of analysis to local expressions of both the 'problems' and the 'remedies', separately, before undertaking a general summary of all findings. In analyzing the data from New Orleans, I followed a similar word-coding process as I applied to the Cape Town findings.[174] I highlighted and copied all descriptions of 'problems' and 'remedies', then compiled them into the three previously-established areas of focus; Individual/Youth Development,

[173] "Appreciative Inquiry is a collaborative, strength-based approach to both personal and organizational development that is proving to be highly effective in thousands of organizations and communities in hundreds of countries around the world. It is a way of bringing about change that shares leadership and learning - fully engaging everyone in the organization." Center for Appreciative Inquiry. Web. http://centerforappreciativeinquiry.net/

[174] See Appendix for full list of word coding and concept-formation from the secondary data.

Community/Organizing and Government/Policy.[175] From the initial coding of words throughout the entire data set, I created groupings of related terms to form a conceptual amalgamation of core themes. I then organized these conceptual categories under the three main units/levels of analysis.

Drawing from grounded theory methods, I undertook an 'initial coding' to determine what the data suggested, by looking for terms that emerged in high frequency throughout the interviews.[176] Following this coded process I grouped related terms to identify *in vivo* codes; "codes that suggest meanings consist of widely used terms that participants assume everyone shares."[177] Then I took excerpts from the interviews to describe the context of the terms, expanding the analysis to conceptual meanings. I grouped these conceptual meanings, with attendant examples, into the three units of analysis, relating to Individual, Community and Government concerns. This format provides responses to both aspects of my thesis questions; *how are local organizers and actors defining the problems that affect them in relation to youth incarceration and recidivism?* And, *how are local groups and individuals proposing or practicing remedies to these issues?*

[175] See Apendix for complete list of coded words
[176] See Appendix for initial coding chart
[177] Charmaz, Kathy. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis.* London, Thousand Oaks New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2006. Page 55.

CHAPTER FOUR

CAPE TOWN CASE STUDY:
Who is Heard, Who is Listening?

"I think it's really important to not give up the rehabilitation process once someone's been released from prison. Aftercare is different then the services provided inside, there are new risk factors and specific needs. Our role should be as a safety net…We need to step back a bit and make it clear to them, 'hey, we can't walk this walk for you, but we're here as a support network'. A reintegration model must consider the dynamics of family, education, specific social environment, and so on."

-Kholofelu, Advocacy and Communications Coordinator at Young in Prison (NGO)

I. Introduction to Research Findings

South Africa features many of the same social, political and economic issues that exacerbate youth crime, incarceration and recidivism in the U.S. and around the world. I wanted to investigate a case study that would provide 'insider' perspectives from the most marginalized groups experiencing these issues, and found that this case study provides a credible glimpse of the realities 'on the ground'. My access to this inside view was facilitated by my participation in a local organization with a central focus on local youth and community participation. The organization, Young in Prison (YiP), actively engages youth and their communities in developing strategies to ameliorate youth incarceration.

This chapter is organized into six sections; 1) Methods & Systems of Analysis; 2)Young in Prison Policy Analysis, 3) Pollsmoor Prison Participant Observation, 4) Philipi Township Social Dialogue Participant Observation and 5) Participant Interviews, each prefaced with an overview of the site and data-collection method specific to that source. A summary provides an analysis and synthesis of the overall perceptions of the issues and potential remedies relating to youth incarceration and recidivism. In each section I present the findings under two broad themes of inquiry, 'problematic issues' and 'potential remedies'. I group locally produced concepts into three analytical categories, *Individual, Community and Government*, as 'levels of focus' generated by Young in Prison's methodology. The goal is to present each group's respective areas of emphasis and then their collective responses to my thesis questions. I believe this is important toward developing a theoretical analysis around the process of discourse formation in these issues, and how participation by each groups weighs differently in the outcome of developing remedial strategies.

II. NGO Policy Analysis: Young in Prison

Young in Prison (YiP) is a non-profit organization with the motto "Be Part of The Solution!" A Dutch citizen who worked with incarcerated youth in Pollsmoor Prison and recognized a need for enhanced supportive services for young inmates founded the organization in the Nederlands in 2002. The Cape Town branch was formally registered soon after, and is currently operated by an independent board and management group, which is in the process of becoming financially self-sustainable. Currently, funding comes in part from European Union grants as well as South African fundraising.[178] The organization has eleven fulltime staff members and a management board comprised of five members who serve as an advisory body.[179] In administration, women effectively run the organization, with four women in leadership positions. There are male staff are group facilitators who interface with youth in prison and other detention facilities. There are also two female facilitators who work with female inmates. There are also many projects in which the entire staff participates together such as the Post-Release Program, Job Placement Project, and the Memeza social Dialogue events.

Young in Prison SA has developed programs to address the specific needs of South African participants, which varies from the offices established later in Colombia, Suriname and Malawi. YiPSA's vision is to "ensure that even within a harsh prison environment, children and youth are given the opportunity to become constructive, active and positive citizens for a safer South Africa."[180] The mission states; "Young in Prison fights for a safer South Africa by imparting life skills using arts and sports to youth at risk, empowering them to change behavior to participate positively in society." YiPSA has developed multiple strategies of intervention, which act upon the vision and mission at three levels; the individual, the community and the government. Following is an explanation of how these three realms of focus engage in the concerns and development of Young in Prison South Africa's mission and vision.

Young in Prison: Perceptions of the Problems

The issues affecting Cape Town's most disadvantaged youth, at an individual level, are multi-dimensional and intersectional. Environmental, social, economic and political factors restrict opportunities in their daily lives, creating personal and psychological barriers to success.

178 Young in Prison website. http://www.younginprison.org.za/history/
179 Young in Prison website. http://www.younginprison.org.za/management-board/
180 Young in Prison website. http://www.younginprison.org.za/vision-and-missiion/

Young in Prison refer to the "emotional conflicts" that arise as a result. The ubiquity of drugs, alcohol, "gangsterism" and firearms offer youth an easy route to a criminal lifestyle. Lack of support in psycho-social terms is part of the picture as well, with many of the youth's families being negatively affected by the same risk factors. Youth have few role models and scarce opportunities to develop constructive social networks.[181]

At the community level, causes of the problem are found in outlying townships with environments of destitution, marked by poverty, crime and violence. Due to the prevalence of these influences, many young people are at high risk of coming into conflict with the law, and subsequently becoming caught in a cycle of prison recidivism.[182] Communities hold stigma for youth offenders, often failing to identify opportunities for intervention when youth have the commitment to desisting from criminal activities. This results in many youth losing the initiative for positive change, and returning to delinquent behaviors. There is a lack of formal, constructive intervention practices for young offenders, particularly at the reintegration stage. When youth return to their communities from prison they are faced with the same obstacles and risk factors that brought them into the correctional system previously. Inadequate life skills and vocational skills put young South Africans at a higher risk of reoffending. Insufficient knowledge and organizational capacity of cultural grassroots organizations prevents the provision of quality and sustainable services to help support these youth and reduce recidivism.[183]

Problems originating at the government level include weak implementation of socially progressive policies to minimize youth incarceration, inadequacies in the public education system, and unresolved economic inequalities resulting from apartheid government policies. YiP identifies how these factors relate to high crime and incarceration rates for Cape Town youth, "crime exists as a result of the conditions of inequality that trigger these risk factors. In the end, the real victims remain youth born into a life in which crime functions as a means of survival."[184]Young in Prison believes that political dialogue should be open between the incarcerated individual and the administrators of his environment, but this opportunity is currently "stifled by the nature of incarceration and the complete disempowerment that

---

181 Young in Prison website: http://www.younginprison.org.za/vision-and-missiion/
182 Young in Prison Website: http://www.younginprison.org.za/memeza-shout-it-out/
183 Young in Prison Website. http://www.younginprison.org.za/vision-and-missiion/
184 IBID.

accompanies institutionalization."[185] In recognition of this structural and policy gap, YiP endeavors to bridge this by working at individual and policy levels in generating awareness and communication between all parties involved.

The Organization's Suggested and Applied Remedies

Remedial strategies at the individual level include life-skills workshops within and outside of prison. Young in Prison's goal is to facilitate life-skills and self-development and for youth caught in a cycle of prison recidivism. These goals are advanced through arts, theater and games, team-building exercises, writing and discussion. The curriculum centers on critical topics that address identity, violence, family, relationships and social dynamics, among other themes. The artwork, writing and poetry generated through these activities are compiled and published as a magazine, which is distributed to the public and within the townships where the youth are from. This magazine provides the program participants with a sense of personal accomplishment, while giving them a platform for their thoughts and perspectives to be heard by their families and the public. It is also a public outreach tool, in that it helps raise awareness about juvenile justice and the obstacles facing South African youth in prison.[186]

Individual development is further supported by the post-release program, which helps to prepare participants for the difficult transition from prison back to their communities. Young in Prison offers educational scholarships and assistance with acquiring gainful employment or specific skills-training workshops. The young men and women, recently released from prison, who participate in this program receive advising and guidance on how to activate their personal goals and are supported in self-efficacy throughout the process. This provides a strengthened sense of self-confidence, empowerment and social support for ex-offenders who want to desist from criminal activities.[187]

One of Young in Prison's core objectives is public outreach and awareness-raising around the issues that contribute to youth incarceration and recidivism. In South Africa, the majority of the population does not have access to internet, and in the peripheral townships of this particularly the case. In order to reach members of marginalized communities, Young in Prison organizes live social dialogue events. The objective of this strategy is to engage the

185 IBID.
186 http://www.younginprison.org.za/inside-out-the-magazine/
187 http://www.younginprison.org.za/job-placement-project/

families of the juveniles to express how they have been impacted and to develop communication with their youth to foster trust. In this manner, communities can work towards cohesion in strategy-building for change, while youth can be involved in addressing their own needs and remedies to recidivism. This approach also addresses the deep stigma experienced by youth who are labeled by community members as part of the problem. The social dialogue concept is also brought to schools, where former youth offenders speak to their peers about the obstacles and opportunities in avoiding criminal behaviors that lead to incarceration. In doing so, the former offender builds on positive self-identity, while contributing to a social justice imperative in the community.[188]

YiP's goal in relation to political efficacy is "(t)o strive for necessary and sustainable change by lobbying government and educating surrounding communities to address stigma and over-incarceration…To develop structures that enable youth in conflict with the law to communicate with their policy makers."[189] This goal is advanced by selecting 'Siyakhana Ambassadors' from the post-release project to act as representatives for other former offenders. The concept behind "Siyakhana"[190] is that young people should be involved in building up their own strengths with support at every level, and that this should be directly reflected by public policies. Yip's stated goal to this effect is that, "if they are heard and are given a platform to share their actionable views, they will become active members of the country." The reasoning is that youth engaged in civic activities and community-building efforts are less likely to re-offend, and are also more likely to contribute socially and economically to the nation as a whole."[191] The organization also authors policy-recommendations and working reports to demonstrate the advantages of enhancing political visibility of these issues at government levels.

III. Participant Observation in Pollsmoor Prison

Pollsmoor Prison is a sprawling complex of buildings located in the middle of an affluent neighborhood, surrounded on all sides by estates, vineyards and gated communities. The core prison buildings are surrounded multiple layers of concrete walls, wire fencing and razor-wire. There are three security checkpoints on the way to section Medium A, where the juvenile inmates are housed in a single-cell facility. This is the section reserved for youth who have

188 http://www.younginprison.org.za/memeza-shout-it-out/
189 http://www.younginprison.org.za/siyakhana-ambassadors/
190 The word "Siyakhana" means 'building eachother' in the Xhosa language.
191 http://www.younginprison.org.za/siyakhana-ambassadors/

already been sentenced and are awaiting transfer adult prison when they reach the age of twenty-three. The guards are predominantly Xhosa-speaking Bantu men and, women in lesser numbers. I accompanied Nkosinathi, a senior YiP facilitator who is male, in his mid-thirties and speaks Xhosa and English. The guards regularly approached him with friendly handshakes, sometimes draping an arm around him, and chatted in Xhosa. They wore army-green uniforms, thick felt coats and caps, and had no visible weapons. They were not unfriendly, and always shook my hand, but otherwise acted oblivious to my presence.[192]

Whenever we passed through a certain courtyard surrounded by units of youth awaiting trial, a wall of windows would erupt with shouts and greetings, arms waving through the lack of glass panes. YiP staff usually greeted them back, but the guards appeared to ignore them. In a separate building with a main hallway, perpendicular corridors were lined with individual cells. From the hallway entrance we could only see brown and black arms hanging through the floor-to-ceiling gates of the cell-corridors. In the one month I participated, I never once saw a white inmate, even in the open courtyard where over a hundred youth were permitted to mingle. In the corridors they often waved and reached for us as we passed. While waiting for the wardens to unlock the main gate, Nkosinathi and I always shook hands through the bars with the six young men we visited regularly, exchanging small talk until we were permitted entrance. I was there during the winter, and it was often very cold inside, with wind drafting through the barred windows and moving through the hallway. I was told that the inmates regularly break the windows to make 'shanks' (knives), so the prison administration stopped replacing them. In the height of Winter, they hung their gray, prison-issue blankets over the windows to keep out the wind and rain.

The general structure of our workshops followed a curriculum developed by concerted efforts between the life-Skills facilitators (for their breadth of experience), and research-based methodologies of youth development. A typical two-hour workshop was comprised of a specific assortment of activities. There was usually an opening circle, in which each member addressed the group in greeting, sometimes offering a prayer for cooperation and learning.[193] This was

[192] After a number of times coming to the prison some of the warders began to greet me by name, but still thoroughly checked my ID and prison permit. One in particular referred to me regularly as his 'sister from California'.

[193] The prayers were sometimes suggested by Nkosinathi, however I did not know whether he was responding to the group's interest in saying prayers, or whether he introduced the idea. This practice is not a formal component of the Young in Prison methodology (I did not see it written in the manual or any internal documents).

followed by an 'ice-breaker' exercise with each participant sharing a thought about something important to them, or imagining a future scenario and describing it. Each week, there was a recapitulation of the previous week's lessons, in which every member recalled at least one thing they learned from the workshop. Then the Life-Skills Facilitator usually introduced a topic such as communication and listening, relationships, self-awareness or emotions and behaviors, and after a brief talk, the youth were invited to share their thoughts and experiences on the subject; this activity often took the most time, as the conversations became animated, and even heated at times. Usually there was a drawing or creative arts activity, with basic supplies of colored paper and colored markers. Finally, a feedback session followed the discussions and drawings, wherein the young men were asked to describe their thoughts, objections or further interests on the subject.

We usually ended with a physical activity (sometimes starting the class that way also), involving team-cooperation and a combination of mental and physical challenges. During the conclusion of the meeting, we held hands in a circle and each member thanked all the other members for sharing, trusting and learning with them. This final session often gave rise to some degree of sarcasm or exaggerated magnanimity toward fellow cell-mates: *thank you Chadwin for having that nice, toothless smile, and for kicking me as I ran for the team*. Without exception, the inmates and facilitators always shook hands with one another before parting, an exchange which can involve long, drawn-out hand-gestures with snapping, clapping and fist-bumping in a specific order. If one fails to do it right the first time, the full handshake must be repeated from the beginning, and repeated to the satisfaction of the inmate.

Inmates' Articulations About Their Own Obstacles

These expressions were not necessarily in explicit response to an inquiry about how they see their own challenges, but rather were conveyed through a variety of manners. I gathered impressions and interpretations from their interactions with one another, their body-language and behavior, thematic art-projects and their comments throughout the course of our workshops. Violence was a constant theme of discussions and during group-exercises. On one occasion, I facilitated an activity in which they were asked to write or draw any problems that they experience as 'obstacles' to their personal growth and sense of empowerment, and then the

corresponding 'solutions'.[194] Many of their drawings represented violence, such as a man holding a gun, a large knife dripping blood, a person laying in a circle of blood, a shooting between two stick figures, another man holding a knife. One youth wrote 'being violence (sic)'.

On another occasion, we were standing around a wooden table and drawing on paper. I brought colored pencils and pens and asked that they all be returned at the end. At one point, I was leaning on the table commenting positively on their work, when one of them slid a pen off the edge of the table. Without a word, everyone moved quickly away from the table. Chadwin asked me if I understood what had happened. I said I did not. He commented that I *'must be blind then'*. I asked him to explain to me so that I could 'see'. He told me with exaggerated patience, as though to a child, '*in prison, if any person takes a pen in their hand you have to move away so you can't be stabbed in the neck'*. He pointed at my exposed neck, *"you would be dead now'*. I asked, with humor, if I should step away from the table every time one of them picked up a pen, and he responded, in complete seriousness*, 'no, we won't stab you, but you should pay attention to these things"*.

Another example suggesting the normalization of violence came up when we were playing a game. We were in teams and each individual had to jump over a bench while racing members of the other teams. Two referees were supposed to hold the bench steady, but instead they lifted it higher whenever someone jumped over, causing some of the youth to fall hard on the floor. This repeatedly caused uproarious laughter among the group. Even those who fell sometimes laughed. To me, however, it demonstrated the ubiquity of violence even in play. Later in the day, Ziyaad, who rarely talks and had never addressed me directly, volunteered the information that he will soon be transferred to Medium B (lower-sentences, less security) because the murder charges against him were dropped when no witnesses could be found. I asked him if he had committed the murder. He smiled and said, "*yeah I did it but no one's gonna talk. They know better."* I didn't react but asked him what he'll do when he gets out of prison. He mimed holding a gun and squinting one eye, making 'bop bop' sounds as he bucked his 'pistol' hand. *"It's easy*", he said, *"I like it*."

Substance abuse was a theme that the young men often described as an impediment to making "*right choices"* in their lives. For example, one of the drawings completed during the exercise about 'obstacles' and 'solutions', featured the head of a man smoking a 'tik' (meth) pipe

[194] See Appendix for copies of original drawings.

and another figure stealing at gunpoint 'for drugs'. One day, as we were discussing different types of communication, verbal, body-language, and signs or symbols, I asked if someone would give an example of body-language to communicate a message without words. The ensuing twenty-minute skit was a parody of themselves in former days, using typical gang signs to indicate covert messages related to buying or selling drugs, exchanging weapons, and where to meet for a break-in robbery. They utilized a combination of facial expressions, whistling, hand gestures held against the body, and finger snapping.

One youth, Shadley, enacted a scenario to make the others guess what kind of drug he was pretending to be high from. He walked crookedly with his hip cocked to one side, hands splayed at the midsection, bending erratically to pluck at an outstretched foot, then walked to the wall and looked fixedly from the corners of his eyes at something on the wall. He narrowed his eyes and spoke menacingly to the wall. The others immediately recognized it as 'tik', and the actor admitted that when he smoked tik and drank alcohol together he became *"like a different person"* who sometimes *"acted evil".* Another youth, Lee, talked about how it felt to come down from the high, explaining how he became *"like a baby",* cowering against Chadwin's shoulder, making whimpering sounds to demonstrate. Shadley explained to us (Yip staff) that their girlfriends would feel sorry for them then, and try to *"protect"* them from getting into fights because they were weak from the drugs. He said, "*that's the kind of thing love do"*(sic). This example demonstrates an association between 'protection' and 'love', as well as an admission that the drugs brought out the worst in them.

Self-protective coping mechanisms appeared to be common in the prison system, made necessary by the hostile environment of gang culture and violence. This reality was communicated by an exercise involving a brief discussion of drawings that they had each done the previous week. They were asked to describe to the group what they had drawn and why. One individual, Chadwin, the most heavily tattooed and self-proclaimed gang-devotee in the group, had drawn brick walls. He said calmly, *"I draw walls because I act like the walls, I look strong, everyone thinks I am strong. But I'm not the strong guy. Inside I'm the scared guy. I make walls so no one knows I'm scared. I rather stay like that than get hurt. In my gang I make people fear me so I don't feel the fear".* This disclosure was presented with a serious demeanor, and though it occurred to me that he may be producing a satirical performance, perhaps to amuse his cellmates or to impress the YiP staff with his apparent 'buy in' (social work term). But the

reaction of his cohorts suggested that they too shared such feelings. More than one reinforced his comments, appearing shy or slightly reluctant to admit that they too sometimes experienced *'feeling scared'*.

Expressions of annoyance were communicated in response to being *"treated as a child"* a reoccurring theme that seemed to demonstrate a sense of pride and personal responsibility. In one instance, a female Dutch volunteer brought a poster with a list of the rules the inmates were supposed to follow during YiP's workshops with them. They included; 'be respectful of each other, no interrupting, no swearing, ask permission before leaving the group, and speak in English'. One of the young men, Kwanele, spoke up and said, *"you know what this makes me feel? Makes me feel like a little school boy. We know these rules. Why must you remind us and make us feel stupid?*" He was frowning and appeared genuinely upset. One of the others said, '*it's just a reminder eh, just so we don't forget'*. Nkosinathi pointed out that the Kwanele was entitled to express himself, and that he was communicating very effectively. The point that was made, however, suggested a desire to be acknowledged for cooperative behavior on account of his own agency, and not because he was told to do so.

In relation to their perspectives on community, they often spoke of being "*looked down on"* by residents who knew the youth had been in prison. Occasionally someone would recall incidents of violence within the community that affected his own life. During a drawing activity, one young man drew a streetscape that included the scenes of violence; robbing, shooting, a body bleeding and a woman crying. The words accompanying this drawing were, 'the problem my community (sic).' During group discussions about community, key themes involved wanting to 'get out of the house' but having *"nowhere to go"*. Common activities for youth include *"hanging out on the street"* with one's "*homies", "getting high", "jacking stuff*" (stealing) from local stores or people, and frequently getting in *"call-outs*" (fights). When I inquired about the way older adults interact with them, including their parents, the responses varied from *"they sick of it", "fed-up with us", "yell at us", "they getting high too", to "my mom always asking me to stop"*. As far as alternatives to what they usually do, there were no suggestions or known options.

Remedies and Needs: Interpretation of Youth Expressions and Actions

I also tried to identify their articulations of hopefulness, goals, and indications of their needs and desires, related to desisting from crime and prison recidivism. I collected these impressions of 'remedies' from participant observation and group activities with the same group of male inmates as before.

The importance of trust was often raised, although not necessarily with reference to the word itself. After several weeks of doing art projects at Pollsmoor and bringing my color pencils on a regular basis, I noticed at some point that one pencil was missing. The young men all looked for it until I said, 'if it shows up later in my bag there will be no questions asked." It did not 'show' up, however (although it's possible I had misplaced it myself). A week later, during our check-in circle, Kwanele expressed concern about my missing pencil, *" How will you trust us now? You will think bad of us*? (sic)" I told him that I appreciated his concern, that I do trust them, and that I had probably misplaced it before coming to Pollsmoor. Kwanele's concern about being deemed trustworthy was strong enough to surface a week later, without any prompting of the subject. To me, this suggested a bigger issue about the importance of the youth feeling that they are trusted and believed in by the adults in their life.

Trust was also expressed in its negative form; their lack of trust in others and often, the lack of trust in them from family and community members. In an exercise called 'the trust game', the group was asked to form a tight circle, with one person in the middle who, with eyes closes, falls at random into the circle. The idea is that they will always be caught, but the central participant has to get past the fear of instability and let themselves fall completely. When everyone had taken a turn in the center we discussed the concept of trust. Some responses were; *"Feels like love"; "We trust each other and you guys, but not the other inmates and guards"; " I don't trust nobody"; "it depends on what the risks are, I don't trust anyone with my life, but I might for other things."* Here, I had the impression that trust was experienced as a form of emotional currency, as a value that would be shared or revoked depending on the perceived trustworthiness of another person. For instance, most of them expressed mutual trust within the group. They expressed the same about us, the volunteers (with the implicit message that we might fall into the category of someone to be trusted with certain things, but not with one's life). Drawing on this impression I surmised that trust may be a valuable protective factor, particularly

as a foundation for 'buy in' for the learning process presented by YiP facilitators. Trust seems to be a crucial prerequisite for these young people to feel comfortable with emotional disclosure.

Only one particular activity gave me clues as to how the youth perceived themselves in a constructive, mutually beneficial position within the community. On Nelson Mandela's birthday, we did an exercise where each individual wrote a letter describing what he would do in their community when they are released from prison. Some of them requested that we write the words as they spoke them out loud, as their writing abilities were limited. The following excerpts were copied directly from the written narratives.[195]

Ziyaad*: I want to ask my community to sargine me. I will go to the community leeder and ash him to make a meeting so I can apologise to them a lot all the bad thigs I did. I want to warn the young legle about grizon reality. I want to econ rage them not to smdee drugs and have bad friends and not come to prison (sic).*

Lee: *I want to be a changed person. To show my community taat Im a now doing good things. I want them to see that I have changed. I will have new friends. I wont robb people because is not a good thivs. I will help clean the streets of my community. Do good work for my community. When I get out I want to go to school (sic).*

Chadwin: *I will show them that I am a new person and I have a change of heart I not gonna rob people any more and I going to work for my money. I am willing to do anything to help. I will love others and support them through their struggles.*

These three expressed feelings of wanting to be forgiven and acknowledged for trying to make positive changes in their lives. They each admitted the things they recognize as 'wrongful' behavior', followed by the ways they would 'prove' their changed behaviors to the community. There is a sense of self-awareness in these brief admissions, indicating recognition of the negatively impacts they have made in their communities, alongside the identification specifically constructive ways they would try to remedy the transgressions. This is, in essence, a restorative approach to Individual and community development, though I am unsure if they were aware that such a concept exists.

Masakhane: *I have been living in location more than fiftyin years in G-town where's I move in the street's. I see so many thing which break's my heart when I see the young people in the street beasy with a drug's, alcohol, others are moving up and own in prison. The role that I will like to play in my community its to call all the young people together and share out views and trai to find out the solution about this mater (sic).*

[195] See Appendix for original writings.

In the above statement, Masakhane expressed an interest in peer-mobilization, and a recognition that group coordination towards problem-solving is something he would like to engage in. His reference to 'sharing views' also suggests he sees the value in cooperation within a group. This may be easier said than done in an actual community-setting, but with his willingness to engage with others to 'find solutions' this would be a critical first step towards developing youth-led remedial-strategies.

During my visits to Pollsmoor, the youth did not discuss any specific ideas related to changes in government or political policy. With the exception of Nelson Mandela's Birthday, which is a national holiday, there were very few political discussions. On that day, we talked about the contributions that Mandela had made to South African society and politics, and to a national discussion about equality. The youth said things such as, *'he was the only politician we could trust'*, '*he really cared', 'he made it better for us, but it's still bad', and 'I wish he was still the president'*. These comments indicated that they were aware of Mandela's influence, as well as the potential for social change on a large scale. There was also an element of cynicism expressed, in the implication that none of South Africa's other presidents were trustworthy and that circumstances are still extremely difficult in their lives.

IV. Participant Observation: Township Social Dialogue

On July 10 and 11, 2012, Young in Prison sponsored a 'Social Dialogue' in Philipi, the hometown of several formerly incarcerated youth who are now participating in YiP's post-release program. Philipi is an informal settlement of mostly self-built homes of scrap metal and wood, on Cape Town's periphery, about twenty-five minutes' drive from the city center or an hour by public taxi-van or train. The event was a two-day program with the first day focused on youth and family testimonials about the challenges and accomplishments they have experienced as a result of incarceration and subsequent participation in YiP's post-release program. Additionally, YiP presented art and music produced by current and former inmates, some of whom were present at the event. YiP also made available some of the same creative arts activities that were offered for inmates at Pollsmoor prison to members of the community. The second day was scheduled as a 'social dialogue', in which the assembled community members could discuss how incarceration and other related issues are impacting their families, and to brainstorm about ways they might mobilize and organize to counteract those issues.

This type of community outreach is based in restorative justice methodology. It gives the youth who have committed crimes against community members (mostly theft & robbery) an opportunity to publically apologize for their actions and assert positive intentions for their own rehabilitation. At the same time it provides an opportunity for members of the community to express their related frustrations, concerns and questions to the youth and to one another. In addition, the aim is for community members to discuss the specific factors that disrupt or inhibit community development using terms and strategies that are produced directly by members of that community.

Approximately fifty or sixty people participated on the first day, and ninety or more on the second day. The first group was mostly women, the majority of whom appeared to be mothers and grandmothers, some with children. The second day there were more young people and more men. There were eight Young in Prison members, including myself; Nkosinathi and Vuyo facilitated the event since they are both native Xhosa speakers and live near this particular community. The only member of YiP who was not present was Tarisai, the executive director, because she was in Johannesburg to open a new branch of YiP there. Five members of YiP's Post-Release Program attended, three of whom, Mbe, Akhona, and Motebang, are from Philipi; Akhona and Motebang came with their mothers and Mbe with his grandmother as his mom is deceased. The two mothers and one grandmother addressed the group with alternate raised voices, emphatic hand-gestures, crying and singing. They hugged the young men in front of the group, and some community members did as well.

All of the group discussions and presentations were in Xhosa. (Mbe and Vuyo translated for me on occasion). Although I did not understand much of what was said, I observed regular murmuring, calling out, clapping, nodding and fist-pumping, laughter, tears and singing. The group facilitators, Nko and Vuyo, invited comments from the entire group regarding the problems they experience in their community, asking for examples that contribute to youth incarceration and recidivism. People shouted out (in Xhosa) and they were written in English on a whiteboard by one of the bilingual YiP members. The list appeared as follows; Drugs & alcohol abuse, teen pregnancy, rape, poverty, unemployment, housing & infrastructure problems, crime (mainly theft and robbery), gangsterism, peer-pressure, lack of education, lack of empowerment, 'broken' family-structure, child-kidnapping, domestic violence, lack of local recreational facilities or activities, lack of resources for protection from crime (inadequate

'neighborhood watch' organization) and insufficient community initiatives. The YiP facilitators than divided the entire group randomly into four groups (approximately twenty people in each) and assigned each group three or four of the most prominent issues identified on the board.

I participated as a note-writer for one of the groups that was assigned the topics of 'Unemployment, Rape and Teen Pregnancy'. In our group there were two elderly and four young men (thirties or younger), the rest were women in a range of ages. The discussion of teen pregnancy (all in Xhosa) became highly animated. It appeared to me as a group argument. Vuyo, as facilitator and translator, did not intervene. She explained to me that they were talking about children as young as eight becoming sexually active and the consequences between sex, STDs and pregnancy. Vuyo then explained that they were trying to define 'parental guidance' in situations of both rape and teen pregnancy. At one point, during the high-pitched cross-talking, she leaned towards me and said, "they're not fighting, this is how they talk things out". When two women in particular appeared to be arguing, some of the other women made clicking, soothing sounds around them. After several minutes the noise level subsided. Suddenly laughter erupted, the whole group appearing to respond to one man's comment, and any existent tensions appeared to be dispelled. I wanted to ask Vuyo what had happened but the discussion moved on too quickly and we had to stay alert to write down all the comments on a large pad of presentation-paper. Vuyo facilitated in Xhosa, addressing the group without engaging in the discussion, then translated for me to write each comment in English.[196] I was struck by how fluidly the group had moved from intense debate or difference of opinion to laughing and moving on to another subject.

Once all three groups had discussed their topics, identifying the core problems and potential solutions, everyone re-converged and I believe the purpose of writing the final discussions in English was to submit documentation of the event for funders in South Africa and Europe. Representatives from each group then taped their list of group-generated 'solutions' to the front wall. Each representative then went through the comments and invited feedback and discussion from the group. This final stage of discussion spanned about two hours, and included clapping, humorous antics from the speakers, dancing and laughter. At one point a member of the audience ambled up front and began an impromptu dance. He was an elderly man, wearing a

pink cap and neon yellow shoes, and his actions caused others to laugh and begin dancing themselves.

Social Dialogue Expressions of The Problem and Proposed Remedies

Here I combine the presented concerns and needs (they were written in categories of 'problems' and 'solutions') of the four groups as they pertain to individual, community, and government issues. Organizing these issues into the three levels of focus is in congruence with my earlier format of analytic categories, and did not appear this way in the group discussion. The following issues, or 'problems', pertained mainly to an individual level of development.

Alcohol-dependency was expressed as a main concern, with an emphasis on the way it can lead to violence and unsafe sexual relations. Media and pop-culture were identified as contributing influences to alcohol abuse, as advertisements and celebrities make it seem glamorous. The negative effects of alcohol included 'making people into victims into victims (self and others), losing self-control, leads to HIV/AIDS (unsafe sex), and violence (fighting). Drugs were also as a main concept, with attendant causes and exacerbating factor. A concern as that it is too easily available, even at schools. 'Broken families' were described as being connected to alcohol and drugs, and a result of domestic and sexual violence. Teen-pregnancy was framed as a problem resulting both from young girls using drugs or alcohol and having unprotected sex, and also to rape of young women and girls.

The issue of peer pressure was seen to be caused by low self-esteem, a desire for 'status and respect' and often inter-related to the problems above, usually in connection with gangsterism. Unemployment was a described as a key problem that leads to many other problems. Expressions of potential remedies included: for unemployment, to 'make more use of individual skills, strengths and talents'; for 'broken families', alcohol and drug awareness workshops for community; for teen-pregnancy, safe-sex workshops in schools, parents talking more to their kids about responsibility, and free contraceptives (provided by NGO); For rape it was suggested that 'single moms shouldn't leave daughters alone with her (mom's) boyfriend', and that girls in high risk situations should be on a municipal roster so if she is raped it will be easier to track the perpetrator.[197]

[197] I was unclear as to how this represented a viable remedy to the situation. It may be that I misinterpreted the data.

Expressions of the problems and solutions relating primarily to the community level included a cyclical list, in which each factor listed was also listed as a contributing factor to the other main problems. These main themes were poverty, unemployment and violence. Related to these, drugs and alcohol were seen to be exacerbating factors resulting in neglectful parenting, domestic abuse, shabeen-fights and gang-fights. Poverty was linked to violence, 'people killing for money', and crime 'stealing from hunger'. The high rates of unemployment were tied to lack of education and career training or guidance. Violence, particularly domestic violence, was thought to make children think it's normal and act that way as well. All of the above were linked to 'broken families', characterized by men of the family in prison and mothers on drugs or alcohol, resulting in 'child-headed families'. The combination of unemployment & poverty were tied to lack of resources to develop much-needed housing.

The proposed solutions included public awareness meetings on the issues of violence, drugs and alcohol and for unemployment, a local policy of 'equal opportunity regardless of education level'**.** Actions that were directed at the municipal level included putting pressure on township council for service delivery of government housing, and the coordination of a neighborhood crime watch in collaboration with local police. It was suggested that NGOs and counselors could mediate between rival gangs, to reduce community violence. To address the appeal of gang culture a solution was seen in NGos and schools providing life-skills and awareness building and promoting a healthy lifestyle.

Problems and perceived solutions related to government levels included many of the issues already stated. Complaints of minimal police response to crime and allegedly willful disinvolvement with the drug trafficking, 'they know but they do nothing about it'. Inadequate government delivery of services in education, housing and employment opportunities were also noted. Solutions that were identified as government responsibility included, job-creation and vocational skills-training, more extensive and better quality of education provided in townships; more investment in grants for small business, funding for SMMEs (in contracting and construction) to help with housing as well as more government-subsidized housing with improved township infrastructure. A solution aimed at improving employment opportunities had NGOs & government programs in coordination to provide career-awareness programs and workshops in the township. Pertaining to drug trafficking, it was suggested that SPCA should get the 'wholesaler' (drug supplier) at the source and provide detox/rehab centers in townships.

Addressing gangsterism, participants recommended communities engage with political figures, with NGOs as mediaries, help to fight gang networks.

V. Interviews

Interviewees Expressions of Problems

I conducted twelve interviews in total; five with formerly-incarcerated youth, three with members of Young in Prison staff, two with community members, and two with prison staff. The following excerpts were selected to demonstrate the prevalence of certain key themes and concepts raised by the interviewees.[198] In youths' discussions of themselves and their outlooks about the personal challenges they face, the majority expressed feelings of low self-worth and confidence, coupled with a desire to do something about it, revealing a pro-active attitude. This may well be a reflection of the fact that these are youth who have voluntarily made the decision to participate in YiP's post-release program, and therefore already exhibit the will and ability to make important changes in their lives. Some of them identified peer pressure as a cause of initial involvement with drugs or crime. Adult interviewees seemed to also recognize the traits of social ennui and positive influences in their lives.

"I used to have self-esteem when I was small but it vanished over time, I don't know why. How can self-esteem vanish? Where does it go? It's hiding. I'm working on finding it" (Chandra, Post-Release Program Participant).

"I wanted to stand up on my own, wanted to prove I could stand for myself, look after myself… I didn't have any background of myself before, no goals, no plans" (Mbe, Post-Release Program Participant).

"(T)hey don't believe in themselves. You can reach a person in one day but it takes time to change. There's no change for most, they might act like it but then they go back to their old way" (Bulewa, Philipi community member).

Some of the interviewees, notably the adults, identified gang-affiliation as a strong pull because they seem to offer a sense of connectedness and belonging to a social group in which they gained shared identity and a common cause. This was expressed being connected to a lack of supportive relationships with family and or community, and an absence of role models or mentorship. Wanting to 'fit in', to find some form of security, was a reoccurring theme.

[198] The full interview transcriptions can be found in the Appendix.

"Many of them join gangs for identity and security, to fit in. Poverty plays a big part in all that…The issue of the Numbers gangs used to be for survival but now it's about identity. If you don't join a gang you have a lot of problems from other inmates. If you want to see change for inmates, the biggest obstacle is the Number gangs. It's too big, too much part of their language and life inside and beyond the prison" (Mzwandile, Pollsmoor Youth Services Coordinator).

"The children want to fit in. They're affected by the influences of their environment, and the environment in the townships, like Kylitcha for example, every third house is a shabeen (bar). Drugs are easy to access" (Bulewa, Philipi community member).

"*They are looking for protection, power and authority, they try to find it at home and sometimes they don't find it there. So they find it in gangs. It's what they want and need, even if they find it in that negative way, they'll go to it. This is how the cycle gets started"* (Owen, YiP facilitator*).*

In commentary relating to community, individuals across all interview groups conveyed that the problem of fractured family dynamics and the lack of mentorship or role models have extremely negative effects on youth.

"I think there's a lack of proper supervision for children and a lack of role models. In many communities (townships) kids are used to verbal abuse and violent acts, not positive influence"s (Motebang, Post-Release Program Participant).

"They lack mentorship from their fathers…For me it would be a mentor, someone to talk to. Maybe a Pastor. Someone who helps me face situations that give me challenges. Gives me power to go where the pain is. Where you find the changes. If there's some people I go to when I'm stressed that's nice" (Shaun, Post-Release Program Participant).

A repeated theme revealed poor communication between parents and youth, for a range of different reasons. This recognized deficiency, in combination with a lack of positive role models puts into better perspective the relative security or emotional bond youth find in gangs, particularly when they feel themselves to be united by a shared sense of alienation from their own families.

"They (youth) want to be noticed, feel a sense of belonging, like what they get in the gangs. In black culture, in my family, we don't talk to our parents about everything, even though I'm close with my mom. I just learned to cope with it any way, but a lot of youngsters don't know what to do" (Vuyo-YiP Life-skills facilitator).

"A lack of parenting skills. Parents are drinking alcohol, doing drugs. Some of them are not there at all for their children. Not just poor children, also rich ones. The rich parents think money can raise their kids. They need parents to listen to them." (Tshaka, Pollsmoor Youth Services Coordinator)

Violence was expressed as a central problem, related to which, all other problems were made worse or reinforced already violent conditions.

*"Violence is a norm, it's understood as a way of gaining control, as a necessary means to an end (*Kholofelu, YiP Advocacy & Communication Coordinator*)."*

"Kids are used to verbal abuse and violent acts, not positive influences (Motebang, Post-Release program participant)."

"*Violence is caused by influences; maybe friends or even conversations you overhear, slowly you begin to develop violent thoughts. Gangsterism and drugs and alcoholism follows. Those allow an individual to become more isolated from society* (Owen, YiP Lifeskills-facilitator)."

I think it (crime) starts at home with violence, poverty, drugs (Schaun-Post release participant)."

Key themes of poverty and unemployment also reflect both the extant literature on South Africa, Cape Town specifically, and the issues discussed in the township social dialogue. The nexus of poverty and unemployment seem to have a critical causational link of underdeveloped skills-training availability and undersourced education, which keep the cycle of poverty in full swing. The interviewees expressed that these core issues create the circumstances from which many of the other problems arise.

"It always comes back to two things; poverty and environment. Older people may be illiterate so the kids think that's normal, everything they see in their environment they think is the 'right way' of things" (Owen- YiP Life-Skills facilitator).

"Poverty is the main one (reason for crime & incarceration), *lack of knowledge about how to get work"* (Vuyo-YiP Life-skills facilitator).

"*There is forty-percent unemployment among youth in South Africa. They are sitting idle, in a family structure where violence is ingrained in the culture. Masculinity and gender roles also influence how young men perceive their role in society: territoriality, power and control are big themes* (Kholofelu, YiP Advocacy & Communication Coordinator)."

"*In the web of crime, unemployment, gangsterism and all that, it's all related to issues of trust"* (Kholofelu).

Youth expressed having 'nothing to do' resulting from a lack of recreational activities and jobs in the townships. They are young, restless, full of angst, looking for people to connect with and things to do with their free time, yet they face barriers at every level. They crave connection or guidance from mentors but find few role-models, as parents are often unavailable for various reasons. Jobs are scarce and youth have little to no training or developed skills. Taken

together, this presents a scenario in drug-use and trafficking may seem to be an appealing 'escape'; they are easy to access, are common form of currency and income, and are already widespread within the community (perhaps somewhat normalized, although not necessarily accepted). Thus is formed the 'unholy trinity' of poverty, drugs and violence.

"Ok, well, there's no activities anywhere. No jobs. Us, what we see, we get influenced by these people. No money, no nothing, it's easy to start doing drugs. Maybe if there was some activities, sports or DJ kind of thing, a place to do things. If you want to keep crime low, trap them kids with what they like, keep them busy. Most of us don't have money to take a train to find a job in town." (Shaun, Post-Release Program Participant).

"When guys come out of prison they get drugs to sell, then they get a gun so they can do business. They don't have regular work" (Bulewa, Philipi Community member).

"In the communities, drugs are a big part of the problem in terms of going back to the way things were, ending up back in prison" (Motebang, Post-Release Program Participant).

Perhaps partly as a consequence of the funneling of youth's funneled life-choices into drugs and gangsterism, many young people become involved in crime. Many youth and adults alike, in interviews as well as casual conversation, reflected the views expressed by youth inmates in Pollsmoor, that their communities 'look down' on them. Criminal stigma further compounds the lack of trust and support youth experience in their communities. This likely adds to feelings of alienation, and might serve to reinforce youth membership in gangs, because it may be the only means of gaining the trust, respect and attention they desire. Youth expressed these feelings as follow:

"Out there, people still stigmatize us, look as us like criminals. It's hard to see yourself clearly when people are throwing garbage at you" (Motebang, Post-Release program participant).

"I think, you know when someone's doing crime all the time, people where we live (Guguletu township), they look at us like we're nothing. No respect, no trust, no attention (Mbe, Post-Release program participant)."

"There is no community here any more. It's everyone for themselves. People are fighting all the time…Community is a 'taking' relationship. A balance of give and take is ideal, but even too much giving can be dangerous, makes you too dependent" (Chandra, Post-Release program participant).

The view of certain adults was that communities have a responsibility to the youth, to try and support them in making different decisions, instead of shunning them and ignoring or blaming the problems youth are faced with.

"The community should believe in the youngsters, finding out what they need from the community. But they don't really know the root of the problem. In Gugs for example, the community does nothing after inmates are released, not because they don't care, but because they don't know what the kids are going through. They don't take initiative to ask, they think the young people don't need help"(Vuyo, YiP facilitator).

"These guys need the people from their community who understand them, they need a wake-up call. It's that or death. The problem is we don't speak up. Pride, for what I don't know. There's a 'mind your own business' attitude here. Sometimes we try to organize to form a group for helping these guys but it's hard because of funding…The problem with these other organizations with their own system is they're wasting their money, they don't know what works....Nothing can happen until members of the community stand up and do things differently. But they need funding and know-how" (Bulewa, Philipi community member).

In relation to government levels of the problem, there were expressions of failed political promises and weak policy implementation for Cape Town's poorest residents. These views corroborate with the literature and the social dialogue concerns pointing to corruption, mismanagement and inadequate service delivery at government levels.

"Politically, townships are disadvantaged places. The government forgets about them, stuff they should be doing for people, they only do during voting time" (Motebang, YiP Post-Release program participant).

"I think it points to the gap between rich and poor and the failings of even our progressive constitution. One of South Africa's greatest struggles is implementation of policies. They're not in touch with what is happening on the ground and the actual risk factors associated with young people" (Kholofelu-YiP Advocacy & Communications Coordinator).

Interviewees Expressions of Potential Remedies

One of Young in Prison's stated objectives is to cultivate and promote self-awareness and individual agency for young people in prison or in a stage of social reintegration. One of YiP's staff members explains the basis of this methodology and how it is relevant to the work the organization does with youth:

"The restorative justice approach, in a human rights framework, emphasizes ownership of past actions and driving one's own future. Rehabilitation can, and should be, personalized for most effective change. It should empower people to be their own change agents: 'I am responsible for my actions, my role in wider society'. We don't live in isolation" (Kholofelu, YiP Advocacy and Communications Coordinator).

One of the YiP senior facilitators, who was formerly an inmate at Pollsmoor prison himself, succinctly describes why these are considered to be effective methods for helping youth reduce recidivism, and how he engages with youth to foster these qualities.

"*No one else can rehabilitate me, it can only happen when I'm in a safe environment. To me it means to enable myself to allow people to invest their lessons in me. It starts with self-awareness…I make an environment where we move together, step by step through discussions, games, activities that promote self-awareness. It's a matter of bringing realization, getting them engaged and wanting to know more. Then the move to self-esteem and personal development is closer"*(Owen, Senior YiP Facilitator).

Following are comments from the young ex-offenders who are now participating in YiP's post-release project, in which they are assisted with their own choice of education, vocational skills and job applications.

"It's all up to you to make the first step. If you're willing to change anything can be helpful …There are always people to help you, but you have to find them, or make yourself visible so they can find you…My first day in solitary (single cell), I started reviewing my whole life to see where I went wrong. By six years (in lock-up) I knew what I needed to do but there were always things preventing me; abuse from warders, gang stuff, family problems…I sat down with myself and decided everything that I was going to do differently when I got out" (Motebang).

"Thereupon I realized, ok, now I need to sort out my life, to equip my life. I started to change my life in prison…You start realizing you're wasting life, opportunities, time. You know you're gonna die any time from this life. You start to realize if you want any success you must do some things different" (Shaun).

"I start to think about what to do with my life. I want to be a bus driver and I like to be someone who can teach young boys all about life"(Johnny).

"It's up to you, can't blame your friends though, up to you if you make bad choices or not"(Chandra).

The youth who are engaged in this process of building self-awareness and agency conveyed the importance they place on 'trust, respect and being listened to'. The way they describe their own reactions to even small gestures of kindness and caring, indicate that they not only yearn for these kinds of connections, but are willing to engage and trust where they may not previously have been inclined to do, thus affording them opportunities for further self-growth.

"*Give them quality time, listen to them, talk to them, make them feel special. That is the thing that will change choice of lifestyle"* (Mbe).

"YiP helps keep us out of trouble because we can trust them. They give us a little bit of love but it's a lot of trust to give us" (Chandra).

"Some facilitators, including Nkosinathi, came to Pollsmoor and did some role-playing theater stuff in 2007. I wanted to express myself, you know? After that drama experience I was better able to influence other guys to do positive things. Just that one YiP program was enough to open things up for me" (Motebang.)

"YiP helped make me a stronger person, to know I can make a change in my own life" (Johnny.)

The YiP staff recognize the importance of youths' desire to be heard, feel respected and cared about, and their craving for meaningful interpersonal relationships, as formative and crucial to building mentorship and guidance in ways that cultivate youth agency, rather than dependency on or attachment to the adult mentors.

"You start to focus on the future, on building something. You start tapping into feelings. As a facilitator, I'm always doing activities to make them feel things... Anger, fear and pain are obstacles to change. Communication helps break through those" (Owen).

"Being open, showing insight, giving them a platform to trust you, these are all very important…Most of them have no one to talk to (at home), it's difficult for them to trust people. When they come here they build a relationship with us, the staff. They can be free, say anything. The way they behave here (at YiP office) is the way they want to be at home" (Vuyo).

In discussion of remedies at the community levels, interviewees from all groups pointed to the need for strengthened interpersonal relationships between the youth and their family and community-members. Mentorship and supportive relationship are expressed as being vital: as demonstrated by the beneficial connections created by YiP staff with the post-release participants.

"If they (kids) had role models they could do other things, other opportunities…Schools should have mentorship projects" (Motebang).

"*What they should be doing is talking to these youngsters, engaging with them. Then, I think they would find the support they need and there would be less crime"* (Vuyo)

"*Life stories are helpful, when a facilitator can tell about their own life challenges. The ones who used to be inmates here, or were former gang members, they get a lot of respect from these guys, they listen to them, understand them. About seven percent of facilitators are ex-prisoners, I think we need more of that to be effective...There need to be more dialogue between inmates and their parents. And parent education"* (Mzwandile, Pollsmoor Youth Services Coordinator).

"Prevention is important, yes, but aftercare is really vital because inside prison the desire for personal change is so developed, so intense, and they need those systems of care in order to support them in really acting on that change. But we also need to be there to give them a realistic plan, to help them see how they can overcome their own obstacles" (Kholofelu).

VI. Data Analysis

Perceptions of Problems[199]

Here I present a synthesis of all the prevalent themes related to the 'problems' in an attempt to relate the prominent concerns and areas of interplay between the individual, the community and the government concerns. On an individual level, youth are exposed to violence and substance abuse at young ages, contributing to negative self-identity and low self-esteem. Lacking positive role models or mentorship from parents[200] and seeking to fit in, desiring acceptance and protection, they often join gangs. Gangs also provide a source of income, through coordinated robberies and the sales of drugs and weapons. Once they are arrested and sent to prison, they are further inculcated with gang-systems; one must join a gang in order to survive in prison. Even if they want to do so, it is difficult to leave the gang; police informers and anyone who commits crimes independently are severely punished. When youth return to their communities, youth are ostracized by family and community members who hold them to their criminal past, despite any assertion of changed lifestyle on the youth's part. Youth in the Post-Release program found an alternative source of social support and connection with the YiP organization, giving them the opportunity to interact more constructively in civic interactions.

On a community level, neighborhoods and townships around the periphery of central Cape Town have a very high rate of poverty, causing deep frustration and desperation, and a profound sense of being left out of the wider opportunities afforded to white South Africans and those who live closer to the urban center. Community members expressed complaints about gangs, drugs, violence, and seem to believe that youth are a major part of the problem. Violence is widely seen as a means to an end and is exacerbated by drugs and alcohol, creating volatile interpersonal relationships. Community members see the tragedies of rape and domestic violence as connected to alcohol, drugs, and single mothers leaving their daughters alone at home. The inadequate development of township housing and the prevalence of sub-standard schools were

[199] See Appendix for a diagram of the Cycle of Risk-Factors in Cape Town

[200] Parental disengagement may be due to a variety of factors such as voluntary absence, absence due to working in another vicinity, incarceration, substance use or cultural barriers to discussing personal problems

revealed as having a notable lack of investment or accountability in the realm of government jurisdiction. Township residents are left with a lack of viable skills-training or education to pursue viable employment options, and are therefore more likely to cycles of crime and consequent incarceration. While imprisoned, youth are offered little in the way of rehabilitative or positive development tools to help break the cycle of recidivism, while outside NGO services and training are limited and only reach a small number of youth. Prison overcrowding and shortages in prison staff, (who are also undertrained in rehabilitation methodologies) further compound the obstacles facing youth in the correctional system.

At the policy level, protections for youth are ostensibly made explicit in the Children's Act and White Paper on Corrections, which clearly outline the importance of rehabilitation and aftercare services for incarcerated youth. However, in reality there is inadequate government funding for services and extra the staff required to deliver such services, as well as a lack of coordination with NGOs that are already doing the work. As a result of the physical distance of townships from urban centers, combined with under-developed infrastructure and lack of services in communities, the scarcity of employment options leads to a proliferation of crime. Measures. Generations of resentment and lasting implications from economic and political inequality under the apartheid government are seen as undercurrents of hostility and repressed anger, which can be expressed as violence. Although the current government is operated by a former popular people's movement, the ANC, it is now viewed by many township residents as being corrupt and disconnected from the actual needs of the most marginalized citizens.

Perceptions of Potential Remedies [201]

Youth from both groups (current and post-release) expressed desire for self-change in terms of improved relationships and strengthened confidence. In order to break the destructive cycle of crime and incarceration, they want to have meaningful connections with people who encourage their ability to change. Youth and adults alike conveyed the importance, and relative lack of, role models to foster trust, guidance, and support in youths' ability to develop positive self-identity. The desire for mentorship seems to be tied to a desire to make better choices but is stymied by a lack of communicable engagement with trustworthy adults in their lives. There is an absence of such relationships among family and community, recognized as being partly

[201] See Appendix for a diagram of the Continuum of Protective Factors in Cape Town

systemic, and partly a result of broken trust over past actions and perceived mistakes. Youth want chances to show that they can change and make more positive choices in their lives. They feel stigmatized by their community members but find opportunities for change with Young in Prison. This connection appears to be based on a sense of mutual respect, trust and the youth feeling 'cared about'.

Young in Prison staff recognize the importance of listening to youths' perspectives about their own problems and actively engaging them in processes of self-expression, communication and participation in formulating their own needs and goals. YiP also acknowledges the need for enhanced communication between youth and their family and community members, toward building better mutual understanding, trust and collaboration in support of youth's efforts to desist from reoffending. Community members seem to identify potential remedies as a means of the strengthening structural and organizational capacities within their communities. They point to government investment as a critical source for developing resources to cope with and improve their local, structural problems. They also identify personal responsibility in relation to improving healthy-lifestyle choices and constructive support networks for youth and adults alike.

Their appears to be a hierarchical 'ladder' of perceived blame and need for accountability; youth point to fractured family and community networks as a critical loss of necessary support to make better choices, while community members point to government negligence in social and economic investment for the poorest urban areas, and demand enhanced services. The NGO role, represented by Young in Prison, tries to link youth needs to community needs in facilitating enhanced communication (social dialogue events), while attempting to bring both partys' grievances to policy levels. Youth and community both rely heavily on the NGO to coordinate these connections, as a crucial intermediary of forums and mechanisms for strengthening the implementation and working-capacity of community-produced strategies.

Across all groups there was an emphasis on the need for further skills-building for youth toward developing personal agency and seeking alternatives to crime as a means of positive identity-formation as well as gainful employment. Remedies were consistently linked to the need for improved education in formal institutions as well as well as self-development in key areas of socialization and positive self-identity through civic engagement. The long-range view toward improving education quality involved campaigning at municipal levels and lobbying policy-makers for greater investment in township educational programs and recreational services.

Barriers to the Remedies

At the individual level, youth have few options for social support and opportunities to gain new skills towards acquiring viable job-opportunities or motivation to seek alternatives to a lifestyle of crime and gangsterism. Barriers include; insufficient advocacy and training staff to reach the number of youth who need it; the stigma of criminality in community and work settings, (criminal history is a major impediment to employment); a lack of information and service networks after release from prison about how and where to access resources for skills-training and education. All of these barriers reinforce recidivism.

At the community level, the barriers are mainly structural and systemic. A lack of internal organization prevents further mobilization for coordinated strategies toward remedying immediate local issues such as the coordination of neighborhood crime-watch teams and extra school-based workshops around sex-education and substance-abuse awareness. Implementation of nascent strategies is limited by a lack of funding and resources. The off-loading of responsibilities for social development from government to NGOs causes undue strain on Young in Prison, while the apparent lack of follow-through on all fronts frustrates community members.

At the government level, while apparently progressive legislation mandates certain provision of services and support for communities, and incarcerated youth especially, the lack of implementation, under-trained staff, and under-sourced facilities impede actual delivery of these promises. A barrier to the provision of public education is plagued by corruption at high levels and the privatization of services and materials, as well as under-funded teacher training and wages. Developments of township infrastructure, housing and public safety measures are blocked by municipal and government-level in-fighting around procedural strategies for violence-intervention.[202]

[202] An example of this inefficacy was demonstrated in the recent (Summer 2012) fall-out between municipal and state authorities over response to escalating gang violence in townships resulted in stalled interventions, resulting in an increased vigilante response from within townships, led by groups endorsing a kill-on-sight approach to the gang-problem.

CHAPTER FIVE

NEW ORLEANS CASE STUDY:
'We Won't Bow Down'

In prison people play mind games. Everyone wears a mask. It's scary, man. If you're intimidated by that, you'll suffer a lot. I learned to see behind their masks instead of putting one on myself."
Motebang (formerly incarcerated youth, Post-Release Program Participant)

I. Introduction

In 2005, Hurricane Katrina not only exposed the physical vulnerability of New Orleans, but also laid bear the ways the city had been constructed on entrenched inequalities in education, urban development, policy-formation and criminal justice. As the 'recovery' was implemented, the groups most traumatized and disadvantaged by the damages, were once again excluded from most of the political and civic planning of the recovery. Despite this, however, there has been significant mobilization from within these communities towards practicable solutions with the aid and support of activists, advocates and community-organizers. This upturn has included a renewed attention to the problems of youth incarceration, and especially the "school-to-prison-pipeline. "

New Orleans exemplifies both the problems of youth criminalization and incarceration, and the grassroots efforts for change. For youth of color in particular, daily violence has become the norm. For example, New Orleans is the murder capital in the world, and one in five teens carries a gun at school. The $5000 per capita spent on public schooling in New Orleans youth contrasts with $125,000 spent on incarceration per youth. However, there are many different organizations that are dealing with almost every aspect of these problems, and increasingly working together to solve them. In addition, many of the actions and organizations include youth in active leadership roles..

The purpose of this chapter is to map the practices of the groups actively involved by, and for, the most marginalized populations in New Orleans, including African American, and Latino and Vietnamese immigrant groups who tend to inhabit the city's most impoverished neighborhoods and have little political representation. The local-level mobilization of these groups has given rise to both informal and highly structured community-based programs, youth-driven projects and non-profit organizations. I first provide a brief overview of eight organizations and their respective objectives. I then explore dimensions of the perceived

problems from reviewing the internal documents and public outreach publications produced by these groups, and, as in Capetown, the youth, their families, and the individuals who advocate for them. I then identify how these groups have enacted remedial strategies addressing the cycle of youth prison recidivism at individual, community and governmental levels. Finally I summarize the key findings, and address some of the barriers to proposed remedies. In Chapter Six I present a detailed comparison and discussion of the findings from both Cape Town and New Orleans.

II. New Orleans Groups: Origins & Objectives

New Orleans has a wide range of organizations, which deal with the problems of youth violence, criminalization, incarceration and recidivism. After a review of all these groups, I selected eight that were local, operated by community members, representative of the groups they serve, and which demonstrate a scope and overlap of services. Three non-profit organizations that specifically address the educational and developmental needs of youth are: Young Adults Striving for Success (YASS), Youth Empowerment Project and Kids Rethink New Orleans Schools (RETHINK). Three address community development and networking: Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana, Safe Streets/Strong Communities and Liberty's Kitchen. And two deal with policy and legal matters: Voice of the Ex-offender (VOTE) and Friends and Families of Louisiana's Incarcerated Children (FFLIC). Each of these organizations work at all three levels, with multiple areas of focus but they are listed here with their primary focus. The majority of these organizations are also involved in coalition building and collaborative projects with the other organizations for enhanced service delivery and strengthened political representation. I also draw from two media sources; a documentary film featuring the narratives of New Orleans youth and their families, and a radio interview with a New Orleans Juvenile Court Judge.[203]

III. Expressions of the Problems

Problems in Youth Development and Education

In New Orleans, current rates of suspension and expulsion are several times the national average and schools with the highest rates are overwhelmingly, overcrowded, under-resourced

[203] See Appendix for expanded information about these organizations.

and attended by low-income students of color.[204] Many of these students are not receiving the services they are entitled to under the law. Young people who are pushed out of school by expulsion and discriminatory discipline measures, are statistically more likely to come into contact with the juvenile justice system.[205] The student-led youth group RETHINK, issued a report about students of color being channeled into juvenile court as a direct result of the public school system's rigid zero-tolerance policies for nonviolent offenses. This report states that many of the behaviors that are result in arrest and criminal records are minor offenses that could be thought of as "teachable moments of juvenile development", rather than criminal behavior.[206] Brandon Early, a New Orleans based educator and author describes an educational environment in which students are highly impacted by high incarceration rates of peers and family, and whose frustrations are further "aggravated by the myriad of challenges already posed by an inept American public school system"[207]

Problems in Community-Development

A recent documentary film titled, Shell-Shocked: The New Orleans Youth Story illustrates the reality of daily violence in the lives of New Orleans' youth. In interviews with local youth, their families and community-organizers, reoccurring themes included; inadequate education, a 'culture' of normalized violence, extreme poverty, lack of self-confidence and easy-access to firearms. Residents' comments on the problems communicated messages such as, "*It's almost natural that you know someone that's got shot, like if you don't know nobody got shot, something wrong with you"* (sic, youth). One youth cited the factors that increase odds of youth committing crime and ending up in prison as, *"extreme poverty, extreme lack of self-confidence, depression. Poverty breeds crime."* A local teacher described the hopelessness she has witnessed among New Orleans youth, *"seventy-five percent of the kids I work with could not write down their dreams, hopes and aspirations. They had no dreams. They'd lost their ability to hope"* Dana Kaplan, executive director of Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana (JJPL) pointed to the lack of options and opportunities for young people from the poorest neighborhoods: "There are

---

204 Safe Streets/Strong Communities: http://www.safestreetsnola.org/standup4_eachother.html

205 IBID

206 The Restorative Committee of Kids Rethink Schools Report: http://www.cnvc.org/restorative-justice-committee-kids-rethink-new-orleans-schools-report

207 Early, Brandon. Developing Voice in New Orleans: The City with the Highest Incarceration Rate in the U.S. *Youth Media Reporter,* Dec 14, 2009. Web. http://www.youthmediareporter.org/2009/12/developing_voice_in_new_orlean.html

few publicly funded opportunities for youth in New Orleans, particularly many schools, parks and recreational centers remain shuttered almost four years after Hurricane Katrina devastated the city. The neighborhoods that youth live in are blighted and plagued by violence…Too often the media depicts youth as the problem, rather than as individuals in the community who bear the brunt of the impact of failed economic and social policies in their city."[208]

Problems in Public Institutions and Policies

When the JJPL was first established in 1997, the state of Louisiana was acknowledged to have one of the country's most inadequate systems for the treatment and prevention of delinquency.[209] *The New York Times* called Louisiana home to the "most troubled" juvenile public defender's office in the country and reports by Human Rights Watch and the Department of Justice detailed brutal and inhumane conditions in Louisiana's juvenile prisons. There was virtually no legal representation for children accused facing charges in court and many nonviolent youth were sentenced to Louisiana prisons known for extreme violence and abuses.[210] The large majority of these children were, and still are African-American."[211] While Louisiana has made great strides in reforming its juvenile justice system, it has not made comparable strides at reducing the number of youth transferred as adults. Louisiana has the highest rate of children serving life without parole sentences in the entire country.[212]

Families and Friends of Louisiana's Incarcerated Children (FLLIC), based in New Orleans, contributed to a report titled, *Unlocking Families: Solutions to the Crisis in Juvenile Justice.* The report outlined major impediments to juvenile justice reform and youth rehabilitation, from the perspective of family-members of incarcerated youth who experience extreme financial instability. While they struggle to meet basic needs, they find it increasingly difficult to access and afford positive recreational and educational opportunities for their children.[213] Young people who are suspended or expelled from school for minor behavioral incidents can quickly become swept into the juvenile justice system, by the simple fact of being labeled 'truant' or 'deviant'.

---

208 Youth Media Reporter website: http://www.youthmediareporter.org
209 From the Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana website; http://jjpl.org.
210 IBID.
211 IBID.
212 From the Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana website; http://jjpl.org.
213 DataCenter and Justice For Families Report: Families Unlocking Futures: Solutions to the Crisis in Juvenile Justice: http://www.justice4families.org/media/Families_Unlocking_FuturesFULLNOEMBARGO.pdf

The more contact youth have with the correctional system, the more exposed they are to criminal behaviors. Former New Orleans Juvenile Court Judge, David Bell conceded that the system of locking up minor offenders with repeat offenders was exacerbating the issue of prison recidivism. Judge Bell stated, "you know, we were doing just the most asinine thing in the world…we were taking the kids that were picked up on a curfew violation, on a truancy violation and we were putting those kids in lockup with the kids that were there for attempted murder, for armed robbery. And you know, if a child got picked up on a Friday for a curfew violation, they sat in jail with these other kids until Monday morning when they went before a judge. And so, you know, that was long enough to create a friendship and to exchange cell phone numbers. And so then we'd see these kids that were curfew violators that then became simple assaults that then became aggravated batteries."[214]

Safe Streets/Strong Communities has issued complaints about the public safety system in New Orleans, which costs tax-payers millions of dollars every year while failing to mitigate violence in constructive ways. This reality is evidenced by New Orleans' unfortunate record of having one of the highest murder rates in the nation. Abuse and corruption within the New Orleans Police Department is another major concern voiced by this organization, citing the overwhelming numbers of local African American residents who pass through the system each year (over one quarter of the city's total population). This chronic problem "devastates families and destroys the fabric of our communities.[215]

IV. Remedies: Local Perspectives and Applications[216]

Remedial strategies for intervention at the individual level focus on youth development and self-efficacy. Each of the organizations analyzed here provides services and support that assist youth offenders in reintegration and in reducing recidivism, while maintaining a broad spectrum of services that are available to non-offending youth as well. JJPL, FFLIC and YEP are specifically tailored to the needs of currently and formerly incarcerated youth. Adult members of from all community-based organizations motivate and encourage students to recognize that they already have the ability to effect change in their families, schools, and communities. Programs

---

214 New Olreans Lowers Juvenile Crime. National Public Radio. Aug 30, 2007. Web. http://m.npr.org/story/14045382

215 Safe Streets/Safe Communities Website: http://safestreetsnola.org/

216 See Appendix for the internal documents that informed this summary of remedial interventions.

provide intensive case management, mentoring and educational services to help building self-sufficiency and independent living skills. Many of the JJPL, YEP, and Safe Streets intervention methods emphasize communication, consideration of both personal and collective needs, opportunities for developing voice and learning pro-social behaviors in context. Some examples of the mediums include: mentoring and skills building, story-circles, creative writing workshops focused on key issues affecting youth, theater, art and music as outlets for political messages, teen talk job community service activities, recreation and team sports.

Young people participating in these programs have developed a number of focus groups around key issues in their lives. Youth from Rethink Schools have been to the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education meetings, demanding more teachers and fewer security guards. Youth from YASS have staged demonstrations during stakeholder meetings. Youth from YEP have used street theater to create awareness about the school to prison pipeline. Across all organizations, youth have organized town halls and news conferences to draft recommendations for better schools and juvenile justice reform. A focus on developing leadership skills, has the aim of increasing youths' knowledge on civic issues, while encouraging them to participate in campaigns to improve their communities.

There has been a concerted effort to combat the negative media stereotypes of youth in the city, and instead to project positive examples of young people working to make real change. Creative utilization of independent media has been a popular vehicle for making a point, enhancing creative imagination, and matching leadership with voice. Groups of young people mobilized by YASS and Rethink Schools have written and recorded songs as an outreach tool to increase membership in the organization and to spread a positive message to their peers on self-empowerment, both inside prison and outside. A city-wide collaborative has grown between youth-driven groups with the objective of demonstrating greater leadership in affecting change around the issues of education and incarceration. Members from all organizations, youth and community-oriented, have coordinated protests and publications against the school-to-prison pipeline. These include documentation, informed by a multitude of community-level perspectives, offering insights and leading lessons in a cohesive demand for social change. Taken together, youth activists in New Orleans are viewed as agents of change.

Efforts at the community level to address youth incarceration and reintegration needs are interconnected with general community-building endeavors. Among all organizations working at

this level, there is a commonly shared belief that building the political power of the most disenfranchised, poor communities and in particular communities of color, is vital for affecting sustainable social and policy changes. Community-based programs represent a cross-section of communities of color, and specialize in wraparound (multi-strategy) services for youth. A coalition of community organizations helped to rewrite the Orleans Parish Recovery School District (RSD) Discipline, aimed at elimination of the school-to-prison-pipeline effect. Projects focused on creativity and accountability work to reduce cycles of poverty, crime, illiteracy and neglect by raising public awareness. The majority of these organizations have partnered with one-another and others to design and implement programs that reach a broader scope and scale of young people. Collaborative projects are underpinned by the belief that the families of incarcerated youth are the 'experts' on what their communities need and that solidarity and collective action are our the most powerful tools in meeting those needs. Parents and families who have direct experience with the correctional justice system are taking the lead in helping build a "family-driven/trauma-informed" youth justice system.

At policy levels, many of the organizations actively implement media strategies to hold the state accountable for the treatment of its youth in detention facilities. JJPL and FFLIC litigate regularly on behalf of youth both locally and statewide, and together filed a federal class action lawsuit on conditions of confinement at the Youth Study Center (YSC), resulting in its eventual closure. For many organizations there is a high priority on educating policy makers around the need for school and correctional reforms. There is a high degree of coordination with parents, youth and other concerned citizens to ensure their visibility and participation in the process. Incarcerated youth involved in the YSC campaign for reform as plaintiffs, testifying before the City Council about their experiences in the facility. JJPL operates on the commitment "to including incarcerated youth in our work, seeking their input on reform recommendations and amplifying their stories and voices in our publications and reports."[217]

There is a strong community of nascent youth organizing groups across New Orleans that are also participating in public policy debates. One example is the Youth Summit, which partnered youth groups with the State Senator and State Representative to engage in a dialogue on the issues impacting youth their schools and communities. A set of policy recommendations was generated from the youth summit and subsequently submitted to state policy-makers. A

[217] Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana website: http://jjpl.org/programs/statewide-juvenile-justice-reform/

critical tenet of these organizations working to connect policy levels to local levels, holds that "juvenile justice reform cannot be successful unless it is connected to larger efforts to reshape our priorities as a nation toward greater racial and economic equality."[218]

VI. Data Analysis of Findings in New Orleans

Problems In Youth Development and Education

The problems impeding individual youth development and education in New Orleans are profoundly affected by risk-factors that negatively shape and reinforce one another. The fractured, under-funded public school system, in combination with zero-tolerance policies, makes for a volatile environment where the smallest misstep can land a student in jail. Young people are increasingly arrested at school for minor infractions, frequently accruing criminal records that effects their choices for the remainder of their lives.

School 'push-out' rates contribute to the school-to-prison-pipeline and disproportionately impact youth of color, particularly those from low-income families and neighborhoods. Schooling is limited by urban districting, preventing some students from retuning to school, adding to high rates of under-educated youth New Orleans. Violence has become normalized. Firearms and drugs are readily available, and dominant media coverage plants distrust and fear of young Black men in particular. As one youth advocate said, "The media depicts youth as the problem, rather than as individuals in the community who bear the brunt of the impact of failed economic and social policies in their city."[219] Low self-esteem, hopelessness, loss of options, lack of dreams or goals characterize some of the severity of the problems at the individual level..

Problems In Community-Development & Networking

A key theme in the community level issues is described by urban dispossession and volatile environmental factors: youth are live in endemically violent conditions, with material scarcity and persistent psychological, emotional and social dispiritedness as a result of constant hardship. As communicated in the secondary research sample, there are "few publicly funded opportunities for youth in New Orleans, and families find it increasingly difficult to access and afford positive recreational and educational opportunities for their children…They have no way

---

[218] IBID.

[219] Interview with Dana Kaplan, by Ingrid Hu-Dahl, December 2009. http://www.cjny.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=86:interview-dana-kaplan-and-minh-nguyen&catid=8:latest-news&Itemid=19

out, and it becomes a hopelessness that permeates these communities." Families and involved community members struggle for visibility and representation in policy-making, while simultaneously attempting to implement community level remedies.

Problems In Relation to Public Policy and Legislation[220]

With the highest homicide and incarceration rates, per capita, in the world, there is clearly a larger, more complex set of factors at work in New Orleans. Other American states have high crime rates yet do not hold such high positions in those two categories. A number of articles from the gray literature in New Orleans have pointed out the long history of brutality and corruption in the New Orleans police department and criminal justice system. Human Rights Watch has written condemning reports about conditions in the juvenile detention centers. There have been a multitude of lawsuits for abuse and death inflicted by prison and law-enforcement personnel in New Orleans. Federal investigation into the NOPD revealed outstanding corruption, lack of accountability and grievous misconduct by officials at every level of institutional authority. Such damning evidence suggests a key theme of systemic and structural violence.

The significant disparity in spending between education and incarceration, suggests another major theme; there is more policy-priority on punishment than on prevention.[221] Zero tolerance laws contribute to youth arrests, resulting in the accruement of youth criminal records, which minimize alternatives to a criminal lifestyle. Lack of government-funded recreational and vocational programs in unstable neighborhoods, along with minimal investment in civic organizations attempting to ameliorate these problems, further eliminate constructive options for young people already caught in the criminal justice system. The political endorsement of 'tough on crime policies' for youth, in conjunction with inadequate prevention or intervention policies, demonstrate major barriers to practicable solutions.

Both quantitative and qualitative studies, as well as empirical evidence, show that prior commitment in detention facilities are a greater predictor of recidivism than all other psycho-

---

[220] See Appendix for a diagram of the Cycle of Risk Factors in New Orleans

[221] "Serious problems within the Office of Juvenile Justice (OJJ), from the top administration to the operation of secure care facilities, poor leadership, lack of reform, and inadequate rehabilitation for youth. Youth are not being rehabilitated, while money is being diverted from community-based alternatives and a continuum of services for youth across the state. Funding for corrections has increased more than two and a half times the rate of education and libraries in the last thirty years…. The OJJ has already cut funding for alternatives to secure care detention" 'What's Up Doc report by Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana and Family and Friends of Louisian's Incarcerated Children.

social factors. Yet the public policies that dominate political discourse and legislation lead to increasingly punitive measures and decreasing recognition or support of restorative justice options. While community-based programs *are,* in fact struggling to provide these options, they are not acknowledged as critical to the policy-discussion. Media enforces and magnifies public opinion in fear of youth violence, while failing to equally promote the potential options for mitigation. This presents a final, and crucial key finding in the government policy level of the problem; the dominant discourse of control, discipline and punishment criminalizes youth while excluding alternative discourses for restorative development.

Remedies In Youth Development and Education[222]

New Orleans communities have invested considerable energy and organization into fostering youth empowerment, participation and mobilization through civic, cultural and educational mediums. The remedial strategies analyzed in this chapter are based on a restorative justice approach to youth reintegration, a methodology that holds youth and community development, along with conflict-resolution and dialogue, at the center of its objectives. An exemplification of this methodology can be seen in the salience of not only youth-*oriented* groups, but youth-*based* groups. Although not all of them are comprised of formerly-incarcerated youth, the issues they seek to address include juvenile justice reform and youth empowerment in general.

Following from this epistemology, the actionable remedies include coordination of events, venues and workshops for motivating and encouraging students to recognize that they have the ability to affect change in their families, schools, and communities. This is accomplished by training in youth leadership skills, expanding awareness of civic issues, and engagement in campaigns to improve their communities. In doing so, youth gain increased self-agency and the confidence to invest more energy in their immediate environments and issues of concern. A key finding suggests that encouragement of youth agency and self-efficacy motivates them towards developing further forums of mobilization and communication. In terms of practical and actionable methods of expression and participation, New Orleans' community programs have developed extensive social production in media, creative arts and educational outlets. With a rich tradition of 'story-circles', public outreach has expanded into the creative

[222] See Appendix for a diagram of The Continuum of Protective-Factors in New Orleans

realms of theater, music, spoken word and independent radio programs to spread awareness and membership in mobilization efforts.

Remedies In Community-Development and Networking

Solidarity and collective action are our most powerful tools, seems to be a common outlook in community-building in New Orleans. Strategies to this effect include sharing of best-practices, pooled resources and overlapping service-provision among the community-based organizations. These groups represent all populations in the area and there is extensive collaboration between groups with different foci: varying ethnic, cultural, educational, civic and legal organizations work together on projects and coordinate effective service-delivery for New Orleans residents.

Remedial strategies are made more accessible and effective by coordinating different program strengths in strategic campaigns to engage policy makers and organize community members and youth. Dana Kaplan, of JJPL emphasized the importance of networking; "We need to work together. Times are tough and our numbers are small—we have to scale up our impact across the board, reach more youth, and thrive no matter what the conditions. The Youth Organizing Collaborative is an example of trying to strengthen our programs through collaboration in New Orleans. It is imperative that all organizations look for opportunities to work together and grow."[223] This approach describes a key finding: Collaboration and coalition-building enhance collective efficacy of civic groups, community-based programs and non-profit organizations in community development and political visibility.

Remedies In Public Policy and Legislation

Organizations like Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana and Families and Friends of Louisiana's Incarcerated Children (FFLIC) work together on policy reports, political campaigns and litigation for juvenile justice reform. As a result of this kind of coalition at legal and policy levels, significant reforms have been implemented in Louisiana. A major detention center was closed due to unfit conditions, because of such efforts. Groups like JJPL and FFLIC enhance the visibility of issues facing youth in the criminal justice system, while raising public awareness

[223] From the Community Justice Network for Youth website; interview with Ingrid Hu-Dahl, December 2009. http://www.cjny.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=86:interview-dana-kaplan-and-minh-nguyen&catid=8:latest-news&Itemid=19

through utilizing news and social media outlets, along with creative public outreach. The remedial significance is multi-dimensional; high profile litigation provides prominent political visibility for the issues youth and communities are struggling with. Perhaps most critically, these strategies promote greater political efficacy for youth of color because they not only have legal allies in JJPL and FFLIC, they also have a platform from which to convey their direct thoughts. Youth are increasingly gaining recognition for their active role in demanding critical policy reforms on issues that effect them.[224]

The discursive formation of these groups is strengthened by multi-generational, multi-racial and multi-strategy cooperation in a combined effort to counter the hegemonic discourse that young people of color are criminals. As one group representative stated, the purpose of transmitting the messages from a ground-up level, is largely to "(c)hallenge the dominant narratives about race, schooling, and neoliberal policy in ways that give students a stronger outlet for participation."[225] This is a key finding, as it highlights the importance not only of practicing alternative methods of intervention and rehabilitation, but of amplifying those practices to challenge the hegemonic discourse of punishment in correctional practices. These policy-level strategies in New Orleans are advanced by the development of discursive formation that articulates and actionably demonstrates the alternative practices of restorative correctional practices.

VII. Potential Barriers to the Remedies

The structural impediments in New Orleans are still significant; private interests backed by corporate and market agendas are in conflict with the demand for greater public service quality. Although community-campaigns for reform in education and juvenile justice systems have demonstrated considerable progress, there are continued obstacles in housing, district-zoning and racial profiling in the most crime-impacted neighborhoods. The latter is a unofficial but endemic, as evidenced by the constant tracking and surveillance of young men of color while the funds for those endeavors could be spent on raising the quality of education in the same under-served neighborhoods.

---

[224] Taveras, Luisa. Nola Youth Demand Change in Juvenile Justice. Aug 30, 2010. Open Society Foundations. http://www.soros.org/voices/nola-youth-demand-change-juvenile-justice.

[225] Green, Dee Dee and Mallory Falk. Youth Media as Education Reform. *Youth Media Reporter,* Issue 6 (2011).

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH:
"What Becomes Possible When People Come Together"

"They give us a little bit of love but it's a lot of trust to give us. When I came out (prison) I had a lump in my throat and a crack in my heart. Having someone believe in me is helping me heal, slowly. What's important to me is that they can forgive me."

-Chandra, formerly incarcerated youth

I. Overview of the Research Findings

My research examined the emerging counter-discourses among local communities who are striving to implement remedies to the global problems of youth incarceration. In the previous two chapters, I examined the findings from the case studies in Cape Town and New Orleans, respectively. In this chapter I discuss the implications of these findings for theory-building. As discussed in Chapter Two, the sources of the problems and of the potential remedies are historical, intersectional or multi-dimensional, and transnational, and cut across academic disciplines. I draw from relevant Black Liberation, feminist and post-colonial theories in sociology, communications, anthropology, and politics. I develop empirical theory from a comparison of the findings, in order to identify the lacunas that require further research. In summary, I expand the discussion of the barriers and remedial strategies to a global level of analysis, looking at social movement solutions. I reiterate the importance of asking critical civil and human rights questions towards improved understanding of grassroots social change.

The theoretical framework of structural violence explains the mechanisms by which divisive social control and systemic marginalization have contributed to youth incarceration in Cape Town and New Orleans. In both locations, the institutions of law, education and criminal justice operate with discursive messages of disproportionate punishment and disposability for predominantly young people of color. This emphasis on retributive justice overrides distributive methodologies that call for individual and community development as a more appropriate response. Drawing from Michel Foucault and Angela Davis, I suggest that this chronic deficit of restoration is actually an integral component of the carceral system's agenda; to maintain a subjugated, 'disposable' population by means of institutionalized social control targeting historically marginalized peoples. As Davis articulated, "(t)his is the ideological work that the

prison performs-it relieves us of the responsibility of seriously engaging with the problems of our society, especially those produced by racism and, increasingly, global capitalism."[226]

What I have found in my research project is that civic groups have been able to mobilize and reclaim some of their lost socio-political identity and agency, setting social change in motion and developing new ways of thinking about old problems. As this is occurring in similar ways in Cape Town and New Orleans, I recall the historical connection between Black liberation struggles of the past century. George Frederikson has pointed out "(t)he fact that there was a degree of mutual awareness and borrowing of ideas and rhetoric from the other side of the Atlantic-especially by the South Africans-adds substance and credibility to the comparison."[227] The research 'answers' to my thesis questions revealed that the community-level responses to the problems around youth incarceration in both locations are, once again, generating counter-hegemonic discursive practices in response to structural violence, only now it is addressing the criminalization and warehousing of their youth. The counter-discursive message contests the correctional systems' denial of positive youth development and community participation in remedial interventions. The expression of this resistance is activated in building agency and political visibility on individual, community and policy levels.

II. A Comparison of the Findings

The research findings from Cape Town and New Orleans revealed underpinnings of popular resistance strategies rooted firmly in historical social movements of South Africa and the American South. Frederickson's comparative analysis is useful to understanding the general process and means of operational-agency and political identity in the struggle against structural violence. His work provides a basis for understanding the ways in which contemporary marginalized populations are attempting to assert politically-viable ideas and advance social agency to mitigate youth incarceration. This idea of shared consciousness-raising towards universal aspects of social change is one that features heavily in my research. In Cape Town and New Orleans there are strong expressions of resistance in story-telling, public oration, public protest, music, and theater that reflect the earlier cultivation of defiant opposition to political oppression and to the mechanisms of institutional racism. I believe the research suggests that

---

226 Davis, Angela. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press. 2003. Page 16.
227 IBID; Pages 4, 9.

there is new surge of social movement, informed by earlier movements, which are very similar to one another, though they are developing in varying ways and at different stages. These small but growing social movements are characterized by community-mobilization and the development of youth participation. They affect social change through restorative praxis in the promotion of youth-agency, cultural reproduction, collective efficacy and political identity.

In both places, the remedial strategies are focused on community and youth development, with an emphasis on communication- and skills-building to facilitate greater individual agency and conflict-resolution. These are fundamental principle of restorative justice, with the emphasis on communication, support, dialogue, conferencing, psycho-social rehabilitation and individual development and community-building.[228] There are, however, additional strategies in the continuum of restorative justice practices that are impeded, in part by limits to organizational capacity and resource-availability, as well as several major structural and systemic barriers existing in both Cape Town and New Orleans. The problems of endemic structural and direct violence, Institutional racialism and the criminalization of youth in public opinion and policy, continue to present major obstacles to socio-economic equality and political recognition, despite the best practices of youth and community development, mobilization and activism.

The problems that are being addressed in both locations are those that directly impact and create obstacles for young people of color. This is accomplished by providing youth with outlets in which to express their perspectives and by providing guidance, where needed, to help them reach those goals. In essence, the operative objective in both Cape Town and New Orleans is to help young people who experience major disadvantages (racial discrimination, poverty and criminal records) to achieve the confidence to autonomously pursue their own definitions of empowerment. In this process the youth can begin to engage in cultural re-production, by forming positive identity and agency that are informed by their own choices rather than restrictive or structural conditions. They are, in addition, attaining political efficacy by virtue of engaging in this process at all.

---

[228] Bazemore, Gordon, and Carsten Erbe. Reintegration and restorative justice: towards a theory and practice of informal social control and support. *In After Crime and Punishment: Pathways to Offender Reintegration*. Edited by Shadd Maruna and Russ Immarigeon. Portland, OR: Willan Publishing, 2004. Page 30.

One of several differences in the two sites of community-organizing suggests that development strategies may be linked, in part, to the degree in which community-organizing develops from *within* the community. In Cape Town, the non-profit organization, YiP does have staff who are residents of the same communities they serve, but the organization is not actually 'community-based'. This differs from New Orleans, in that many community-based organizations have developed directly from community groups; students, parents, educators and neighborhood activists et al, and therefore membership is predominantly comprised of the same populations they seek to support. These groups tend to work together towards enhancing membership and mobilizing new groups, and can therefor address a wider scope of problems, and at multiple levels.

Another difference can be seen in the way individual, community and governmental levels of concern are addressed and how the different levels are linked. Whereas in Cape Town, Young in Prison serves as a sort of 'bridge' between community and government in terms of needs, recommendations and political visibility, New Orleans groups commonly generate individual and community participation directly at the policy level. Youth in New Orleans are actively engaged in the transmission of local concerns, and have managed to make their statements both publically and politically. In Cape Town, the same goal is undertaken through YiP's Siyakhana project, in which youth present their perspectives in public forums (schools, Inside Out magazine, social dialogues and policy reports). However, these powerful and important opportunities for youth to be heard and engaged at community and policy levels, are somewhat undermined by persistent stigmatization of criminality that prevails in public opinion. Although Cape Town youth undoubtedly have insights and innovative ideas about remedial strategies, the community itself impedes them from constructive engagement with positive-initiatives.

Youth in New Orleans are not immune to this obstacle, as they still experience discrimination, racial profiling and negative stereotypes in the media. However, youth mobilization is endorsed and supported by community-organizing efforts that engage young people as crucial actors in facilitating long term social change. The proliferation of youth-centered and youth-run organizations engages an ever-increasing peer membership, demonstrating competent delivery of public outreach, creative awareness-raising campaigns (block-parties, summits, music and theater), and policy-reports at municipal and city levels.

Media is widely utilized in New Orleans in developing social production. Public outreach is more limited in Cape Town, due to less access to Internet and media sources. Social dialogue events are a primary means of mobilizing and information net-working, but they are costly for the organization (in time and funds), thereby restricting the range and regularity of these events.

My research in Cape Town was limited in terms of investigating other youth and community-oriented organizations or the existence of nascent community-based groups, which do exist. I was, however, informed by casual conversations (non-interviews) and empirical observation, suggesting that there is a deficit of coordination or collaboration between the different organizations providing services for youth in prison and within communities. Similarly, this gap appeared between the organizations and the limited government initiatives for youth-offender parole, reintegration, and community development. Young in Prison appears to be one of the only organizations providing such a range of individual, community and political advocacy work. Conversely, multiple organizations in New Orleans collaborate for coordination of large-scale fundraising, grant-applications from national sources and acquisition of government funding for community-level investment. This may also serve to strengthen the channels of demand and accountability at policy levels, in ways that Cape Town organizations may not have available in the same ways or magnitude. There is also a growing trend among New Orleans community-based organizations in pooling resources from their respective funders, allowing for the development of shared assets and strengthened provision of wraparound services for youth and communities. This latter strategy may be one for Cape Town to adopt in a new Pan-African discourse around community-level solidarity, collaboration and coalition-building for increased political visibility.

III. Empirical Observations and Research Lacunas

Positive versus Negative Labeling

The most evident theme from the comparison of findings is that youth participation is either fully incorporated as a remedial strategy, or is an active goal in the process of being implemented. However, there appear to be more barriers towards this development in Cape Town, specifically in communities that stigmatize youth, and where there is a prevalence of gang membership, as compared to New Orleans. While there are certainly elements of both barriers in New Orleans as well, they are perhaps mitigated, even dissolved by the positive label of youth as

'agents of change' projected by community-based groups. It would seem, empirically, that such a message of confidence in local New Orleans youth would build self-esteem, and thereby increase self-efficacy. This helps explain the proliferation of youth-mobilization, collaboration and participation at all levels of social and political engagement.

The fact that youth in Cape Town do not appear to be forming their own peer groups in the same constructive ways as New Orleans, could be connected to being negatively labeled as 'trouble-makers' and 'criminals' to a greater degree than the positive re-enforcement they may receive. If community members do not see youth as being willing or capable of change, youth are less likely to mobilize on their own to do so. This empirical observation borrows from 'labeling theory', which explains the internalization of labeling as having significant influence on identity-formation. [229] Youth my feel that the community's lack of confidence in them leaves no options but to 'stick with' the one source of social support they do have, the gangs, because they gain a certain sense of solidarity and common cause from membership. Further research could investigate more thoroughly the specific motivations and barriers to youth participation, as perceived exclusively by the youth themselves, in both sites. Questions could focus on how youth experiences of trust versus stigma impact their inclinations or aversions to participating in civic development.

Public Protest as a Tool for Awareness-Raising and Political Visibility

Both research sites have strong traditions of public protest. And in both cases protesters have historically been met with disproportionate show of force by state and local law enforcement. Cape Town has suffered the most consistent scale and scope of police-violence (most recently, the Lonmin mine incident), while New Orleans struggles with police brutality on a regular basis but it is less visible. Paradoxically, public protests in New Orleans are more consistent in scale and scope, while Cape Town protests seem to receive media coverage only when the crowd is unruly or major violence occurs. These dynamics are significant to understanding how marginalized groups make transitions from grass-roots resistance to social and political movements and what role public opinion plays in subsequent policy-development around the protesters' demands.

[229] Maruna, Shadd. *Mea Culpa: Shame, Blame and the Core Self.* In, Making good: How ex-convicts reform and rebuild their lives. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2011.

There is a need for further research to ascertain: 1) Whether there is less public support for protests in Cape Town (ie; do state and/or media regularly accuse them of inciting violence and fomenting discontent?); 2) Whether there is a lack of alternative and citizen-media coverage, as there have been in many US protest movements (ie; might the public 'eye' help protect protesters from police brutality, as witnesses to police accountability, and also provide wider public exposure to the issues being protested?); And, 3) whether the spatial dislocation of townships as distant from the urban center prevents cohesive mobilization of large groups from meeting in central urban spaces where the group's message could be prominently disseminated.

Significant Lacunas

Both cities have areas of severe under-development, and while New Orleans certainly has not received adequate federal funding for hurricane recovery needs, it does receive a higher influx of government money and volunteer labor than most of Cape Town's settlements, which are essentially camps with huts made of corrugated tin and salvaged wood.[230] Basic infrastructure is lacking in most townships. The relative underdevelopment of youth-focused, community-based organizations in Cape Town may be related to the fact that residents' immediate priorities are more survival oriented, concerned with issues of unemployment, inadequate housing and high crime. The empirical indicator for this lacuna emerged from the social dialogue event, which did not specifically raise the issue of youth-offender reintegration as being a high priority in their list of concerns. Another layer to this lacuna relates to the question of whether the source of donor money significantly influences the priorities of development, in respect to community-based initiatives. Perhaps international aid is higher in Cape Town, which may place a premium on more measurable means of development, such as housing, roadwork and medical aid. Reduction in youth recidivism is difficult to measure. Further research could examine these questions in more depth, with a thorough investigation of funding sources and a critical comparison of community-initiatives versus funders' initiatives.

IV. Discussion of the Barriers and Recommendations

I found in my research that Cape Town and New Orleans share some of the same barriers to progressive social change and racial equality. In both cases, these barriers are closely tied to

[230] See Appendix for photos.

the original problems, which the proposed remedies are attempting to address. This is a somewhat cyclical conundrum, as structural obstacles are approached with different potential strategies, smaller obstacles are often overcome in the process. However, the core barriers are universal, often political, and therefore extremely difficult to surmount. These barriers are structural violence, institutional racism, privatization of public resources through neoliberal economic restructuring, and the criminalization of youth through a dominant discourse that favor punishment above positive development.

Continued structural violence through institutional means suggests a deeply systemic and long term barrier, as it is not only problematic in and of itself, but usually propagates more violence among those who have been chronically oppressed. The dispossession, dislocation and marginalization of earlier generations has set the stage for persistent disparities in the quality of education, the distribution of resources, and the scarcity of jobs and public services in a setting of endemic poverty. The social chaos caused by structural violence also perpetuates violence, creating a barrier to constructive social development. A Fanonian explanation would hold that oppressed citizens replicate what has been inflicted on them by colonial and oppressive governments, aggravated by frustration, desperation and resentment in being relegated to the sidelines of political and economic participation. An opening for change might be seen in the incorporation of conflict-resolution training within the restorative justice framework that is already being applied in Cape Town and New Orleans. A recommendation would be to develop enhanced coordination between community-based organizations and relevant programs or educational institutions that focus on conflict intervention, resolution and transformation. The objective would be to hold trainings in nonviolence and interpersonal/intra-community communications to strengthen not only logistical approaches but psychological ones as well.

A second barrier is closely related to the former, in the specific manifestation of institutional racism. The discourse of racial discrimination continues to have a significant influence in government polices, law-enforcement and security measures, as well as educational methods of categorizing and separating students along racial divisions. The political rhetoric and social constructs of racialization both directly and indirectly led to the spatial dislocation along racial divisions and a normative political discourse of ‘othering’ them as outsiders. The confluence of these factors has propagated exponential problems for youth in the townships and informal settlements of Cape Town and the underdeveloped New Orleans parishes and

neighborhoods occupied almost exclusively by people of color. This phenomenon is not unique to these two locations, but has played a deep role in the economic and political disenfranchisement that characterizes much of the global South, as global corporate capitalism continues to excavate resources and exploit political positions to the detriment of the majority of the world's indigenous populations. A recommendation for this issue is simply to reiterate the messages of Angela Davis and Michele Alexander in encouraging perseverant dialogue on the subject of race, with strong consideration placed on projected consequences of indefinite marginalization, exploitation and, exclusion of people of color.

The political and economic interests invested in keeping prisons full poses another barrier. Both theory and research on the subject of structural violence point to a convergence of legislative, institutional, and corporate factors that increasingly channel youth into locked facilities. The evidence suggests that the trend increasingly occurs at the locus of educational and correctional policies. Chauncee Smith describes this as a "(f)ocus on punishing adult and youth minorities (that) has blurred the pedagogical distinctions between America's education and criminal systems. Indeed, as students of color disparately transfer from schools to prisons, one can rightly say that America's education and criminal justice systems now bear a symbiotic relationship."[231] Privatization of detention facilities provides a host of opportunities for corporate investment and profit in the operation of prisons as corporations. Thompson expands on the implications of this interdependent model: "If we are truly serious about fixing our nation's schools, and if we ever hope to roll back the re-segregation and ever-deepening poverty of these same institutions, we must first recognize the enormous price that public school children have paid for America's recent embrace of the world's most massive and punitive penal state, a vast carceral apparatus that has wed our economy, society, and political structures to the practice of punishment in unprecedented ways."[232] This message is, in and of itself, a recommendation for policy reform and the critical need to continue raising public awareness about these issues.

A final and perhaps most disturbing barrier, is the steadily growing normalization of youth as 'criminals' in the public eye. The amalgamation of these circumstances may have more extreme consequences in the long term; the treatment of millions of students as criminals

---

[231] Smith, Chauncee D. 'Deconstructing the Pipeline: Evaluating school-to-Prison Pipeline Equal Protection Cases Through A Structural Racism Framework'. *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, Vol 36 (Jan 2009): 1009.

[232] Thompson, Heather Ann. Criminalizing Kids: The Overlooked Reason for Failing Schools. Re-Imagining Education Reform. *Dissent*, 2011): 23-27.

suggests a plethora of extremely negative social, political and economic consequences, the severity of which are only beginning to emerge. There is an apt and alarming parallel to the way Jim Crow laws were 'normalized' in the American South and apartheid government legalized institutional racism in South Africa, all in the past fifty years. The same process of discursive formation is at work in both cases, one that creates a certain social group as 'other', thus creating a normative view that 'those people' are somehow 'disposable, less human. And as Michele Alexander points out, "it is perfectly legal to discriminate against criminals in nearly all the same ways it was once legal to discriminate against African-Americans."[233] The discursive formation of policy and public media must be critically examined and countered wherever the subject of youth criminality is projected. Public-awareness campaigns could target high schools, major news editorials and op-eds, and could introduce the critical efforts being made at local levels to combat stereo-typing. This recommendation refers to the way anti-bullying campaigns have recently proliferated in American schools and media. The same could be done to ameliorate the criminalization and stigmatization of young people of color.

V. Global Problems and Movement Solutions

Many global problems originate from the same source, or are closely connected. The barriers I just discussed share a common denominator, the fundamental quandary of the unequal distribution of capital. In the rapid growth and spread of globalization, systems of political, economic, social, and increasingly, cultural interaction have been irreversibly affected. Here I present a creative metaphor of neoliberalism as a poker game, in which the narrator is the 'voice' of neoliberal rationale, speaking to the indigenous and disadvantaged groups of the world: "Before we begin this game, you must put all your chips on the table, (the 'chips' are natural resources, allocation of urban space, education and security, the public commons, etc). "If you have enough capital, you can join this game; otherwise you can watch the rest of us play with your lives at stake (these 'stakes' are livelihoods, cultural practices, property, and the health of future generations effected by environmental pollution by corporate industries). "These are high-risk stakes, so you better decide quickly, are you in or will you fold?" Yet, even in the event that a given urban or indigenous group is given this apparent 'choice' to join or abstain, the empirical

[233] Alexander, Michele. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness.* New York: The New Press, 2012. Page 2.

reality is that this neoliberal 'game' is played anywhere the cardholders desire to 'play'. How then, can any group mount resistance against such manipulation?

South Africa and the American South both have a history of working-class and middle-class organizations geared towards self-determination that drew from Marxist-Leninist principles as well as populist and elite pan-Africanism movements. Leaders such as Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Dubois, Silas Molema and Mobutu Sese Seko were educated elites and civil rights activists who helped mobilize social movements for racial justice. Some of the Pan-African ideologies that were developed through these movements became formalized in the organizational and political entities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the US and the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa. Frederickson suggests that that the political consciousness around "race" came out of the initial construction of an oppressive and divisive tactic of white supremacy efforts, but was assimilated and re-contextualized by black resistance discourses as an empowerment of political identity.[234] Drawing from this wealth of ancestral and folk knowledge, contemporary resistance movements, such as the ones we see in New Orleans and Cape Town, mount their resistance to neoliberal policies effecting the institutions that perpetuate structural violence in the marginalization and criminalization of youth.

In both places, local organizations are currently creating counter-hegemonic discourse and responses around the problems and the 'remedies' in response to youth imprisonment, while recognizing that this issue is situated within larger political and economic concerns, such as privatization of public resources and high unemployment rates. Since the abolition of Apartheid and Jim-Crow laws, a range of popular resistance movements (labor unions, school and healthcare reform) in both Cape Town and New Orleans have invested attention to legislative reform, rather than the wholesale opposition to government that was critical before. When new legislation supports important social and political change, such as the Youth Promise Act in the United States and the Children's Act in South Africa, the political efficacy of marginalized groups is enhanced at individual, community and policy levels. This signifies the development of an emergent 'attack on all fronts' approach to affecting social change. Within a framework of

[234] Fredrickson, George M. Black Liberation: *A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. Page 143.

human and civil rights, such a multi-tiered approach is critical in terms of addressing the kinds of economic and political dimensions of neoliberal policy-implementation.

Messages of social equality and political-efficacy have evolved two-fold; at once continuously shaping political identity and efforts to engage at policy-making levels, while simultaneously being directed into civic development for community and individual 'healing'. Community-level actors in Cape Town and New Orleans, to differing degrees and with varying foci, are restructuring their own environments and developing remedies to the problems that are ignored, bypassed or inadequately addressed by law-makers.

Bryan Stevenson, executive director of the Equal Justice Initiative in Alabama believes that community-building in New Orleans offers valuable lessons for the rest of the United States as well; "I think New Orleans is an amazingly hopeful place, and people there have managed to deal with some very vexing problems; land-use problems, housing problems, employment problems, race problems…all these social problems, with a commitment that comes from caring about your community…I think that they have a lot to teach all of us, not just in the Gulf region but around the country, about what's possible when people come together and engage in honest dialogue. There's a willingness to respect other voices that I think is critical for community development and for creating new relationships in places where new relationships are needed. And the models of that kind of dialogue in New Orleans are, I think, some of the best in the country."[235] This message is also a universal one, exemplified by the efforts in Cape Town as well, where people with the least are redefining the discourse of 'dialogue' to include the voices that need to be heard.

[235] Open Society Foundation website: http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/bryan-stevenson-why-new-orleans-matters

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aarons, John et al. *Dispatches from Juvenile Hall: Fixing a Failing System*. London, UK: Penguin Books, 2009.

Abramsky, Sasha. American Furies: *Crime, Punishment, and Vengeance in the Age of Mass Imprisonment*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2007.

After Crime and Punishment: Pathways to Offender Reintegration. Edited by Shadd Maruna and Russ Immarigeon. Portland: Willan Publishing, 2004.

Akers, Joshua, M. Separate and Unequal: The Consumption of Public Education in Post-Katrina New Orleans. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* Vol 36, No 1 (January 2012): 29-48.

Albertus, Chesne. Offender Reintegration in South Africa: A Contemporary Crime Prevention Measure. *Criminal Justice Initiative Occasional Paper Series 7*. Open Society Foundation for South Africa. 2010.

Alexander, Michele. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press, 2012.

American Civil Liberties Union. *Dignity Denied: The Effect of Zero-Tolerance Policies on Students' Human Rights.* 2008. Web.http://www.aclu.org/files/pdfs/humanrights/dignitydenied_november2008.pdf

Amnesty International. *This is Where I'm Going to be When I Die': Children Facing Life Imprisonment Without the Possibility of Release in the USA*. London: Peter Benenson House (2011).

Anderson, Elijah. *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence and the Moral Life of the Inner City.* New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd, 1999.

Archer, Deborah N. 'Challenging the School-to-Prison Pipeline'. *New York Law School Law Review,* Vol 54 Issue 4 (2009/2010): 867-872.

Arnold, Rick et al. *Educating for a Change.* Toronto: Between The Lines and the Doris Marshall Institute for Education and Action, 1991.

Ball, Arnetha. F. *Multicultural Strategies for Education & Social Change: Carriers of the Torch in the United States and South Africa*. New York & London: Teachers College, Colombia University, 2006.

Bartollas, Clemens F. and Stuart J. Miller. *Voices in the Juvenile Justice System for Juvenile Justice in America*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2007.

Bazemore, Gordon, and Carsten Erbe. Reintegration and restorative justice: towards a theory and practice of informal social control and support. *In After Crime and Punishment:Pathways to Offender Reintegration.* Edited by Shadd Maruna and Russ Immarigeon. Portland, OR: Willan Publishing, 2004.

Beabout, Brian R. Leadership for Change in the Educational Wild West of Post-Katrina New Orleans. *Journal of Educational Change*, Vol. 11, Issue 4 (2010): 403-424.

Bennett Lerone Jr. *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America.* Chicago: Johnson Publishing Inc., 2000 (7th printing).

Bond, Patrick. *Against Global Apartheid: South Africa Meets the World Bank, IMF, and International Finance*. Zed Books, 2nd ed., 2004.

Bottaro, Jean et al. *In Search of History: Grade 11 Learners Book.* Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Boyd, Tona M. "Confronting Racial Disparity: Legislative Responses to the School-To-Prison-Pipeline". *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, Vol. 44, Issue 2 (2009): 1-12.

Bratt, Cheryl S. et al. "N.O. Schools or No Schools? Absolute Deprivation of Educational Opportunity in Post-Katrina New Orleans as Violation of a Fundamental Right to Minimally Adequate Education." *Harvard Law & Policy Review*, Vol. 2, Issue 2, (2008): 407-417.

Brodine, Maria T. "Struggling to Recover New Orleans: Creativity in the Gaps and Margins," *Visual Anthropology Review*, Vol 27, Issue 1 (2011): 78-93.

Buras, Kristen et al. *Pedagogy, Policy, and the Privatized City: Stories of Dispossession and Defiance From New Orleans*. New York and London: Teachers College Press, 2010.

Buras, Kristen L. "'We Have to Tell Our Story: neo-griots, racial resistance, and schooling in the other South'", *Race, Ethnicity & Education,* Vol 12 Issue 4 (2009): 427-453.

Burawoy, Michael. *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections and Imaginations in a Postmodern World*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.

Burawoy, Michael. *The Extended Case Method: Four Countries, Four Decades, Four Great Transformations and One Theoretical Tradition.* Berkeley: University of California Press. 2009.

Cahn, Edgar, and Cynthia Robbins. "An Offer They Can't Refuse: Racial Disparity in Juvenile Justice and Deliberate Indifference Meet Alternatives That Work," *University of the District of Colombia Law Review*, Vol. 13 (2010):

Cahn, Edgar et al. "A Strategy for Dismantling Structural Racism in the Juvenile Delinquency System," *Journal of Poverty and Race,* Vol. 20 Issue 2 (2011): 1-8.

Cammarota, Julio et al. "Youth, Social Justice, and Communities: Toward a Theory of Urban Youth Policy," *Social Justice,* Vol. 32 no 3 (2005): 24-40.

Carleton, Mark T. *Politics and Punishment: The History of the Louisiana State Penal System.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971.

Charmaz, Kathy. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis.* London, Thousand Oaks New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2006.

Childress, Sarah. Supreme Court Bans Mandatory Life Terms for Kids: What it Means. *New York Times*. June 25, 2012

Christle, Christine A. et al. Breaking the School to Prison Pipeline: Identifying School Risk and Protective Factors for Youth Delinquency. *Exceptionality*, Vol. 13, Issue 2 (2005): 69-88.

Clay, Adreana. "All I need is One Mic": Mobilizing Youth for Social Change in the Post- Civil Rights Era," *Social Justice*, Vol. 33, Issue 2 (2006): 105-121.

Clay, Adreana. *The Hip-Hop Generation Fights Back: Youth, Activism, and Post-Civil Rights Politics*. New York: New York University Press, 2012.

Clear, Todd R. "The Problem with "Addition by Subtraction: The Prison-Crime Relationship in Low Income Communities," *From Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment,* Ed. Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind. New York: The New Press, 2002.

Cole, Heather A. and Julian Vasquez Heilig. "Developing a School-Based Youth Court: A Potential Alternative to the School to Prison Pipeline." *Journal of Law and Education*, Vol 40 (Jan 2011): 305.

Cone, James H. *Martin & Malcom & America: A Dream or a Nightmare.* Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1993.
Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers. Edited by Leitner et al. New York: The Guilford Press, 2007.
Cromwell, Paul F. and Rolando V. Del Carmen. *Community-Based Corrections.* 4th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 1999.
Cullen, Francis T. *Correctional Theory: Context and Consequences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, INC. 2011.
Davenport, T.R.H. *South Africa: A Modern History, Second Edition.* First Ed, 1977. Johannesburg, South Africa: Macmillan, 1985.
Davis, Angela. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press. 2003.
Davis, Sandy. LA: Youth Prison Abuse Alleged. *A Katrina Reader*. April 28, 2008. Web. http://katrinareader.org/youth-prison-abuse-alleged.
Delgado, Melvin and Lee Staples. *Youth-Led Community Organizing: Theory and Action*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
Dignity in Schools Campaign (DSC)*The Right to Education in the Juvenile and Criminal Justice Systems in the United States*: Submission to Vernor Muñoz Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education Human Rights Council, United Nations. December 31, 2008.
Dodson, Belinda. Locating Xenophobia: Debate, Discourse, and Everyday Experience in Cape Town, South Africa. *Africa Today*, Vol. 56, Issue 3 (2010): 2-22.
Dubbelman, Bradley. *Community work programmes key to preventing collective violence.* Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. July 19, 2011. Web.http://www.csvr.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2364&Itemid=36.
Duncan, Garrett Albert. 'Urban Pedagogies and the Celling of Adolescents of Color. *Social Justice,* Vol 27 no 3 (2000).
Dupont, Ida. Beyond Doing No Harm: A Call for Participatory Action Research with Marginalized Populations in Criminological Research. *Critical Criminology*, Vol 16 (July 2008): 197-207.
Early, Brandon. Developing Voice in New Orleans: The City with the Highest Incarceration Rate in the U.S. *Youth Media Reporter,* Dec 14, 2009. Web http://www.youthmediareporter.org/2009/12/developing_voice_in_new_orlean.html.
Emerson, Robert M. et al. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes.* 2nd ed. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. 2011.
Esbensen Finn-Aage et al. *American Youth Gangs at the Millennium*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2004.
Esperian. John H. The Effect of Prison Education Programs on Recidivism. *Journal of Correctional Education*, Vol. 61, Issue 4 (2010), 316-334.
Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of The Earth*. Translated from the French by Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press, 1961.
Ferguson, James. *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006.
Fine, Michelle and Maria Elena Torre. Intimate Details: Participatory Action Research in Prison. *Action Research*, Vol. 4 Issue 3 (2006): 253-269.
Fisk, Helen F. and Edward B. Ladd. Elusive Equity: Education Reform in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. 2004.

Flaherty, Jordan. *Floodlines: Community and Resistance from Katrina to the Jena Six*. Chicago, IL: Haymaker Books, 2010.
Flaherty, Jordan. New Orleans' Culture of Resistance. *Social Policy*, 2005-2006: 25-28.
Foucault, Michel. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. Translated from the French from A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.
Fredrickson, George M. *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality*. Hanover, New Hampshire: Wesleyan University Press, 1988.
Fredrickson, George M. Black Liberation: *A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
Freire, Paolo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1993.
Freytes Frey, Ada and Cecilia Cross. Overcoming Poor Youth Stigmatization and Invisibility Through Art: A Participatory Action Research Experience in Greater Buenos Aires. *Action Research*, Vol. 9, Issue 1(2011): 65-82.
Fuentes, Annette. Disciple and Punish: Zero Tolerance Policies have Created a 'Lockdown Environment' In Schools. *Nation*, Vol. 277, Issue 20 (2003).
Galtung, Johan. Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research.* Vol. 27, Issue 3. (1990): 291-305.
Galtung, Johan. Violence, Peace & Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, Issue 3 (1969): 167-191.
Gangs and Society: Alternative Perspectives. Edited by Louis Kontos, David Brotherton, and Luis Barrios. New York: Colombia University Press, 2003.
Garcia-Reid, Pauline. Understanding the Effect of Structural Violence on the Educational Identities of Hispanic Adolescents: A Call for Social Justice. *Children & Schools,* Vol. 30, Issue 4 (October 2008): 235-241.
Geertz, Clifford. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. USA: Basic Books, Inc., 1983, 2000.
Gideon, Lior. *Rethinking Corrections: Rehabilitation, Reentry, Reintegration.* Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2011.
Gillborn, David. Full of sound and fury, signifying nothing? a reply to Dave Hills "Race and Class in Britain: a critique of the statistical basis for critical race theory in Britain". *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies.*Vol. 8, Issue 1(2010).
Ginwright, Shawn. *Toward a Politics of Relevance: Race, Resistance and African American Youth Activism*. SSRC Web Forum on Youth Activism. June 7, 2006. http://www.shawnginwright.com/articles/youth_ac.pdf
Giroux, Henry A. *Disposable Youth: Racialized Memories and the Culture of Cruelty*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2012.
Graham, Darwin B. The New Orleans that Race Built: Racism, Disaster, and Urban Spatial Relationships. *Souls*, Vol. 9, Issue 1 (2007): 4-18.
Green, Dee Dee and Mallory Falk. Youth Media as Education Reform. *Youth Media Reporter,* Issue 6 (2011).

Green, Keisha. Our Lyrics Will Not Be On Lockdown: An Arts Collective's Response to An Incarceration Nation. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, Vol. 13, Issue 3 (2010): 295-312.
Green, Rodney D. et al. NGOs Address Structural Racism: *After the Storm in New Orleans. Review of Black Political Economy*, Vol 38 (2011): 311-325.
Griffin, Farah Jasmine. 'Children of Omar: Resistance and Reliance in the Expressive Voices of Black New Orleans Cultures'. *Journal of Urban History*, Vol 35 Issue 5 (Jul, 2009): 656-667.
Grosfoguel, Ramon. The Dilemmas of Ethnic Studies in the United States: Between Liberal Multiculturalism, Identity Politics, Disciplinary Colonization, and Decolonial Epistomologies. *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, Vol. 10, Issue 1 (2012): 81-90.
Harper, Gary W. et al. *Community Narratives: The Use of Narrative Ethnography in Participatory Community Research*. Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 2004.
Harris, Marvin. Emics and Etics Revisited. *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate. Edited* by Thomas N. Headland et al. Newbury Pak, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1990.
Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2005.
Hatt, Beth. 'Still I Rise: Youth Caught Between the Worlds of Schools and Prisons'. *Urban Review,* Vol 43 Issue 4 (2011): 476-490.
Heitzeg, Nancy A. 'Education Or Incarceration: Zero Tolerance Policies And The School To Prison Pipeline'. *Forum on Public Policy, Vol.* 2009, Issue 2 (2009): 1-17.
Hillman, Gary. Arts and Juvenile Justice. *Best Practice in Mental Health*, Vol 5, Issue 1 (2009): 1-9.
Hirschowitz PhD, R. *Measuring Poverty in South Africa.* Statistics South Africa. 2000. Web.http://www.statssa.gov.za/net/ArticlesofInterest_2/Search.aspx?SrchKeyword1=poverty&SP=SP&SearchStep1=Search.
Herivel, Tara and Paul Wright. *The Warehousing of America's Poor*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2003.
Hoffman, Sandra M. Some Implications of Apartheid legacies in South African Correctional Centres. South African Journal of Psychology, Vol 39, Issue 3 (2009): 336-346.
hooks, bell. *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope*. New York and London: Routledge, 2003.
Human Rights Watch. *Children in Confinement in Louisiana*. October, 1995. http://www.hrw.org/reports/1995/10/01/children-confinement-louisiana.
Human Rights Watch. *Prison Conditions in South Africa*. Africa Watch & Prison Project: Divisions of Human Rights Watch. New York, Washington, London: Human Rights Watch, 1994.
Induk, Kim and Mohan J. Dutta. Studying Crisis Communication from the Subaltern Studies Framework: Grassroots Activism in the Wake of Hurricane Katrina. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, Vol 21 Issue 2 (2009): 142-164.
Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment. Edited by Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind. New York: New Press, 2002.
Jason, Leonard A. et al. *Participatory Community Research: Theories and Methods in Action.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2004.

Kapitan, Lynn, et al. Creative Art Therapy in a Community's Participatory Research and Social Transformation. *Art Therapy: Journal of the American Art Therapy Association*, Vol 28, Issue 2 (2011): 64-73.
Kim-Ju, Greg et al. Community Mobilization and Its Application to Youth Violence Prevention. *American Journal of Preventative Medicine*, Vol. 34 (2008): 5-12.
Klein, Naomi. The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism. New York: Picador, 2007.
Krisberg, Barry and James F. Austin. *Reinventing Juvenile Justice*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1993.
Krueger, Patricia. It's Not Just a Method! The Epistemic and Political Work of Young People's Lifeworlds at the School-Prison Nexus. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, Vol. 13 Issue 3 (2010): 383-408.
Kynoch, Gary. *We Are Fighting The World: A History of Marashea Gangs in South Africa, 1947-1999*. Pietermaritzburg, SA: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 2005.
Lakin, Rebeccs and Annette Mahoney. Empowering Youth to Change Their World: Identifying Key Components of a Community Service Program to Promote Positive Development. *Journal of School Psychology*, Vol. 44 (2006): 513-531.
Lewin, Tamar. Black Students Face More Discipline, Data Suggests. March 6, 2012. *New York Times*. Web. http://www.nytimes.com.
Liebling, Alison and Shadd Maruna. *The Effects of Imprisonment*. Ed Alison Liebling and Shadd Maruna. Willan Publishing, 2005.
Lin, Ann Chih. *Reform in the Making: The Implementation of Social Policy in Prison.*New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000.
Liss, Steve. *No Place For Children: Voices From Juvenile Detention*. Texas: University of Texas Press, 2005.
Little, Adrian. Community and Radical Democracy. *Journal of Political Ideologies*. Vol 7, Issue 3 (2002): 369-382.
Madkour, Aubrey S. et al. 'Disaster and youth violence: The experience of school-attending youth in New Orleans'. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, Vol 49 no. 2 (2011): 213-215.
Magnani, Laura and Harmon L. Wray. *Beyond Prisons: A New Interfaith Paradigm for Our Failed Prison System.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006.
Marable, Manning. *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press;1st ed. Feb 1983. 2nd, ed. 2000.
Maruna, Shadd. *Mea Culpa: Shame, Blame and the Core Self.* In, Making Good: How ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2011.
Mason, Susan. Finding the Edge: Multiple Community Goals. From *Performing Democracy: international Perspectives on Urban Community-Based Performance.* Edited by Susan C. Haedicke and Tobin Nellhaus. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2001.
Meekums, Bonnie and Jennifer Daniel. Art with Offenders: A Literature Synthesis. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, Vol. 38, Issue 4 (2011): 229-238.
Meiners, Erica, R. Ending the School-to-Prison-Pipeline/Building Abolition Futures. *Urban Review*, Vol. 43 (2011): 547-565.
Mendel, Richard A. *No Place for Kids: The Case for Reducing Juvenile Incarceration*. Baltimore, MA: Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2011.

Minton, Todd. *Jail Inmates At Midyear 2011-Statistical Table*. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. State Department. Web: April 26, 2012. http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=4235

Morange, Marianne and Sophie Didier. Security Discourses, Community Participation and the Power Structure in Cape Town. *Urban Forum*, Vol. 17, Issue 4 (2006).

Mullings, Leith. Interrogating Racism: Toward an Antiracist Anthropology. The Annual *Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 34, (2005): 667-693.

Muntingh, Lukas and Clare Ballard. *Report on Children in Prison in South Africa*. Cape Town, SA: Community Law Centre, 2012

Naude, Beaty. South Africa. *Teen Violence: A Global View*, ed. Allan M. Hoffman and Randal W. Summers. Westport Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Noguera, Pedro A. School, Prisons, and Social Implications of Punishment: Rethinking Disciplinary Practices. *Theory Into Practice*, Vol. 42, Issue 4 (2003): 341-350.

Notshulwana, Velile. Rehabilitation of Youth Offenders in South Africa. *Africa Insight*, Vol. 41, Issue 4 (2012): 139-158.

Oesterreich, Heather A. and Sara McNie Flores. Learning to C: Visual Arts Based Practice in Juvenile Correctional Facilities. *The Journal of Correctional Education*, Vol 60, Issue 2 (2009): 146-162.

Oldfield, Sophie, and Kristian Stokke. Political Polemics and Local Practices of Community Organizing and Neoliberal Politics in South Africa. *In Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers.* Edited by Helga Leitner et al. New York: The Guilford Press, 2007.

Parenti, Christian. *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis.* 2nd Ed. London, NewYork: Verso-New Left Books. 2008.

Parsons, Kenneth A. Structural Violence and Power. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, Vol 19 (2007): 173-181.

Petersilia, Joan. When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003.

Petteruti, Amanda et al. The Costs of Confinement: Why Good Juvenile Justice Policies Make Good Fiscal Sense. *Justice Policy Institute*. Web, May 2009. http://www.justicepolicy.org/research/78.

Price, Heather. *Resilience and Resistance: Public Narratives from Post-Katrina New Orleans*. Masters Thesis in Urban Studies, University of New Orleans, 2006.

Prisonors Once Removed: The Impact of Incarceration and Reentry on Children, Families and Communities. Edited by Jeremy Travis and Michele Waul. Washington DC: The Urban Institute Press. 2003.

Prison Conditions in South Africa. Compiled by Africa Watch Prison Project. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch, 1994.

Reason to Hope: A psychosocial Perspective on Violence and youth. Edited by Leonard D. Eron et al. Washington DC: American Psychological Association. 1994.

Reid, Pauline Garcia. Understanding the Effect of Structural Violence on the Educational Identities of Hispanic Adolescents: A Call for Social Justice. *Children & Schools*, Vol. 30, Issue 4 (2008): 235-241.

Research for the People, Research by the People. Edited by Folke Dubell. The Nederlands: Linkoping University Department of Education, 1980.

Richardson, Jr., Joseph B. Contextualizing Juvenile Re-Entry for Young African American Males: From Prison Yard to Schoolyard. J*ournal of Public Management & Social Policy*, Vol. 14, Issue 2 (2008): 21-32.

Richardson, Warnie James and Michael Parr. 'Youth At-Risk or Marginalized: Issues of Serious Concern for Educators who Work Exclusively with Adolescents who are Incarcerated'. *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations,* Vol. 7, Issue 1 (2007): 157-167.

Rigoni, Isabelle. Intersectionality and Mediated Cultural Production in a Globalized Post-Colonial World. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vol. 35, Issue 5 (2012): 834-849.

Roux, Daniel. Jonny Steinburg's The Number and Prison Life Writing in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Social Dynamics*, Vol. 35, Issue 2 (2009): 231-243.

Roy, Ananya. Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 35, Issue 2 (2011): 223-238.

Schiller, Bradley. *The Economics of Poverty and Discrimination; Eighth Edition*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 2001.

Scott, Elizabeth S. and Laurence Steinberg. *Rethinking Juvenile Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1st ed 2008. Reprinted 2010.

Selman, Donna. *Punishment for Sale: Private Prisons, Big Business, and the Incarceration Binge.* Lanham, ML: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2010.

Secret, Mosi. New York Judge Seeks New System for Juveniles. *The New York Times.* September 20, 2011.

Sharma Sunititi. Contesting Institutional Discourse to Create New Possibilities for Understanding Lived Experience: Life-stories of Young Women in

Detention, Rehabilitation, and Education. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, Vol. 13 Issue 3 (2010): 327-347.

Shook, JJ. Contesting childhood in the US justice system: The transfer of juveniles to the adult criminal court. *Childhood,* Vol. 12 (2005): 4610–478.

Shook, JJ and Sarri RC. Trends in the commitment of juveniles to adult prisons: Toward an increased willingness to treat juveniles as adults? *The Wayne Law Review*, Vol. 54 (2008): 1725–1765.

Short, Jr., James F. and Lorine A. Hughes. Urban Ethnography and Research Integrity: Empirical and Theoretical Dimensions. *Ethnography*, Vol. 10 Issue 4 (Dec 2009): 397-415.

Sinclair-Smith, Ken. The Changing Spatial economy of Cities: An Exploratory Analysis of Cape Town. *Development Southern Africa*, Vol 29, Issue 3 (2012): 391-417.

Skuse, Andrew and Thomas Cousins. Spaces of Resistance: informal Settlement,Communication and Community Organization in a Cape Town Township. *Urban Studies,* Vol. 44, Issue 5/6 (May 2007): 979-995.

Smeijsters, Henk et al. Arts Therapies for Young Offenders in Secure Care-A Practice-Based Research. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, Vol. 38, Issue 1 (2011): 41-51.

Smith, Chauncee D. 'Deconstructing the Pipeline: Evaluating school-to-Prison Pipeline Equal Protection Cases Through A Structural Racism Framework'. *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, Vol 36 (Jan 2009): 1009.

Smith, Debbie and Kathryn F. Whitmore. *Literacy and Advocacy in Adolescent Family, Gang, School and Juvenile Court Communities*. Mahwah, NJ: Laurence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2006.

Spencer, J. William. *The Paradox of Youth Violence.* Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2011.
Stinson, Alicia. A Review of Cultural Art Programs and Outcomes for At-Risk Youths. *Best Practices in Mental Health*, Vol. 5, Issue 1 (2009): 10-25.
Stop the School-to-Prison-Pipeline. Edited by Rethinking Schools, 2012. Web. http://www.rethinkingschools.org/archive/26_02/edit262.shtml. Retrieved on 2/22/12.
Sudbury, Julia. *Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and The Prison Industrial Complex.* New York, London: Routledge, 2005.
Swain, Amy, and George Noblit. Education in a Punitive Society. *Urban Review,* Vol, 43 (2011): 465-475.
Tapia, Michael. "U.S Juvenile Arrests: Gang Membership, Social Class, and labeling Effects". *Youth and Society*, Vol. 43 no. 4 (Dec, 2011): 1407-1432.
Tapia, Michael. "Gang Membership and Race as Risk Factors for Juvenile Arrest". *Journal of Research in Crime & Delinquency*, Vol. 48 Issue 3 (August 2011): 364-395.
Test, Punish, and Push-Out: How 'Zero-Tolerance' and High-Stakes Testing Funnel Youth into the School-To-Prison-Pipeline. Advancement Project, 2010.
The Neoliberal Deluge; Hurricane Katrina, Late Capitalism, and the Remaking of New Orleans. Edited by Cedric Johnson. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
The New Poverty Studies; The Ethnography of Power, Politics of Impoverished People in the United States. Edited by Judith Goode and Jeff Maskovsky. New York, London: New York University Press, 2001.
The Oxford History of The Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society. Edited by Norval Morris and David J. Rothman. New York: Oxford Univerity Press, 1998.
Perry, Theresa and Lisa Delpit *(eds) The Real Ebonics Debate: Power, Language, and the Education of African American Children*. Boston, Ma: Beacon Press Books. 1998.
Thompson, Anthony C. *Releasing Prisoners, Redeeming Communities: Reentry, Race, and Politics.* New York & London: New York University Press. 2008.
Thompson, Heather Ann. "Criminalizing Kids: The Overlooked Reason for Failing Schools. Re-Imagining Education Reform". *Dissent*, 2011): 23-27.
Toch, Hans and Kenneth Adams. *Acting Out: Maladaptive Behavior in Confinement.* Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 2002.
Tuzzolo, Ellen and Damon T. Hewitt. "Rebuilding Inequity: The Reemergence of the School-To-Prison-Pipeline in New Orleans". *The High School Journal*, Vol. 90, Issue 2, Special (2006-2007): 59-68.
United States Census Bureau. *Areas with Concentrated Poverty 2006-2010: American Community Survey Briefs*. Table 1. Published December, 2011. Web. http://www.census.gov/prod/2011pubs/acsbr10-17.pdf.
Urrieta Jr., Luis et al. "I am in School!": African American Male Youth in a Prison/College Hybrid Figured World. *Urban Review*, Vol. 43 (2011): 491-506.
Team Colors Collective. (ed.) *Uses of a Whirlwind: Movements, and Contemporary Radical Currents in the United States*. Oakland: AK Press, 2010.
Vollmann, William T. *Rising Up and Rising Down: Some Thoughts on Violence, Freedom, and Urgent Means.* New York: Harper Collins Publishers Inc., 2003.
Ward, Catherine L. et al (eds) *Youth Violence: Sources and Solutions in South Africa*. Claremont, South Africa: University of Cape Town (UCT) Press, 2012.
Wilkinson, Deanna L. *Guns, Violence, and Identity Among African American and Latino*

Youth. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2003.
Williams, Rachel Marie-Crane. *Teaching The Arts Behind Bars*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2003.
Willis, Paul. *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. New York, NY: Colombia University Press, 1977.
Winn, Maisha T. 'Our Side of the Story': Moving Incarcerated youth Voices From Margins to Center. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, Vol 13, Issue 3 (2010): 313-325.
Winter, D.D., & Leighton, D. C. Structural violence. In D. J. Christie, R. V. Wagner, & D. D. Winter (Eds.), *Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology in the 21st century*. New York: Prentice-Hall. (2001).
Women in Grassroots Communication: Furthering Social Change. Edited by Pilar Riaño. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Inc., 1994.
Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Editors, James Clifford and George E. Marcus. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986.
Yazzie, Rebecca A. Availability of Treatment to Youth Offenders: Comparison of Public Versus Private Programs from a National Census. *Children and Youth Services Review*, Vol. 30, Issue 6 (2011): 804-809.
Youth Communications: Things Get Hectic: Teens Write About the Violence That Surrounds Them. Edited by Philip Kay et al. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998.
Zimring, Franklin E. *American Youth Violence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States.* New York: The New Press,1997.
Zuern, Elke. *The Politics of Necessity: Community Organizing and Democracy in South Africa*. London and Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012.

APPENDICES

I. Maps & Diagrams of Cape Town and New Orleans……...132

II. IRB and Internship letters from Young in Prison…….145

III. Pollsmoor Prison Permit…….148

IV. Youth Inmate Artwork & Writings……...149

V. Signed IRB Consent Forms……..157

VI. Interviews: Cape Town, South Africa……...170

VII. Internal Documents, Cape Town and New Orleans……...189

VIII. Photographs: Cape Town and New Orleans……..196

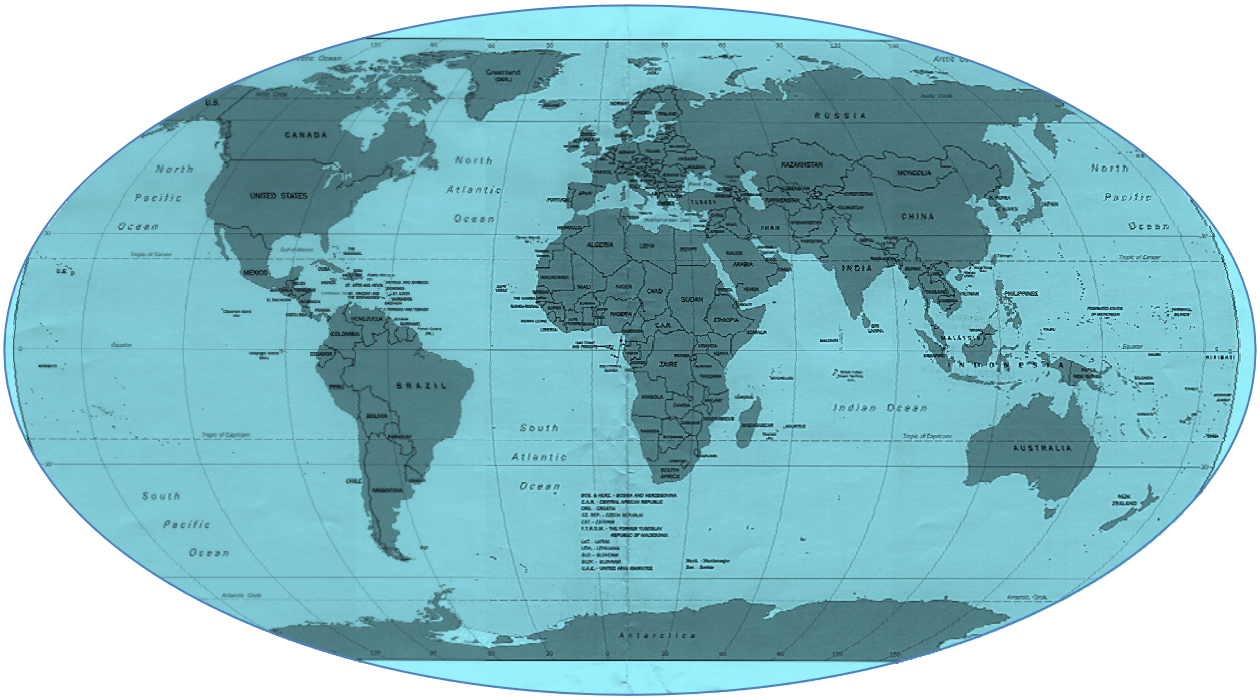
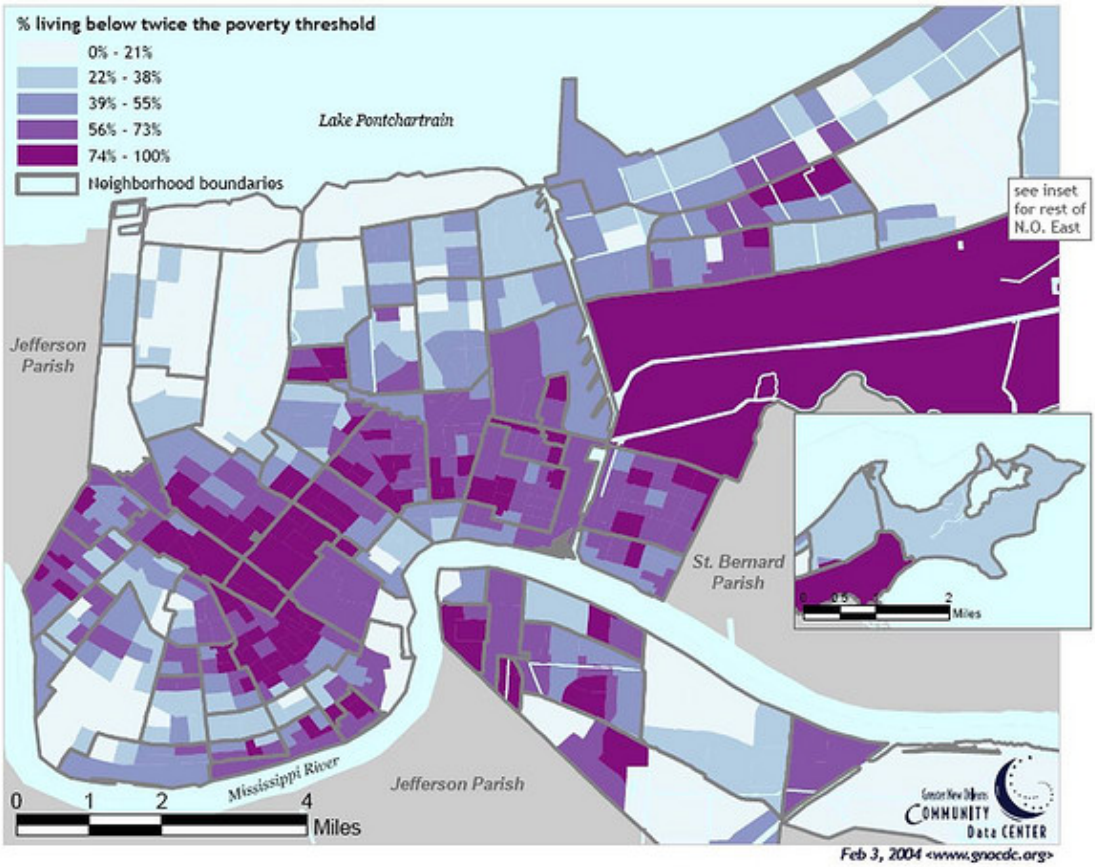


Table 1. Cape Town and New Orleans in Global Context



Data sources: Poverty rates (Census 2000), water & parish boundaries (Census Tiger files), neighborhood boundaries (adapted from City Planning Commission of New Orleans)

Note on poverty: People living below twice the poverty threshold includes all individuals whose family has income that is lower than twice the poverty threshold for that size family. Because poverty thresholds are generally considered to be flawed and have not been appropriately adjusted since they were created in 1964, twice the poverty threshold is commonly used as a rough proxy for a living wage.

Note on percentage groups: Groupings of percents were selected using the "natural-breaks" method. This statistical method minimizes the within-grouping variation and maximizes the between-grouping variation using an iterative series of calculations.

Note on HANO developments: This poverty data is from 2000 and does not reflect changes in Housing Authority of New Orleans housing developments.

Note on population density: Because parts of New Orleans East are sparsely populated and have larger block groups, percentages may be misleading as they represent only a small number of people.

Table 2: Poverty Demographics in New Orleans

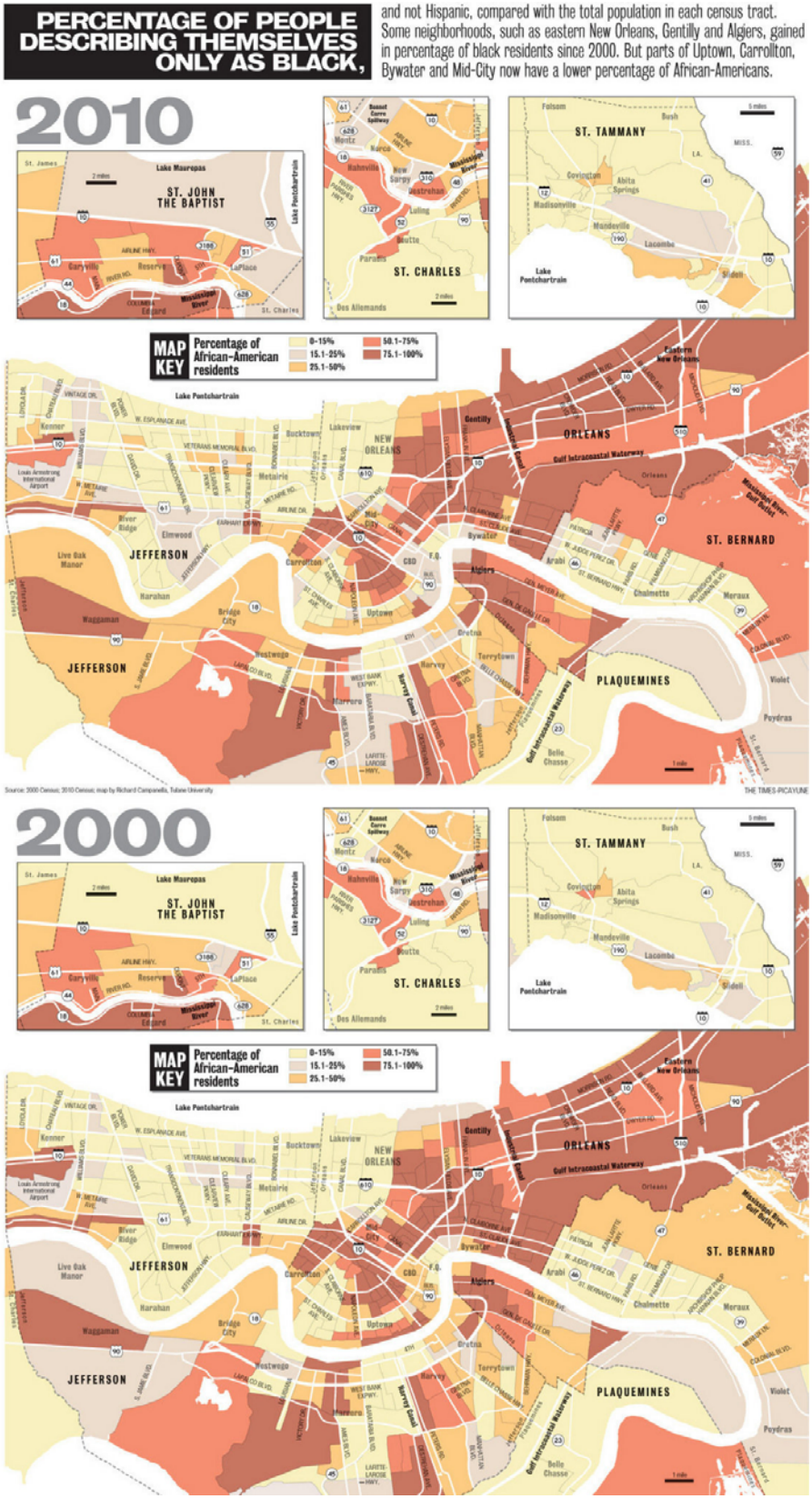
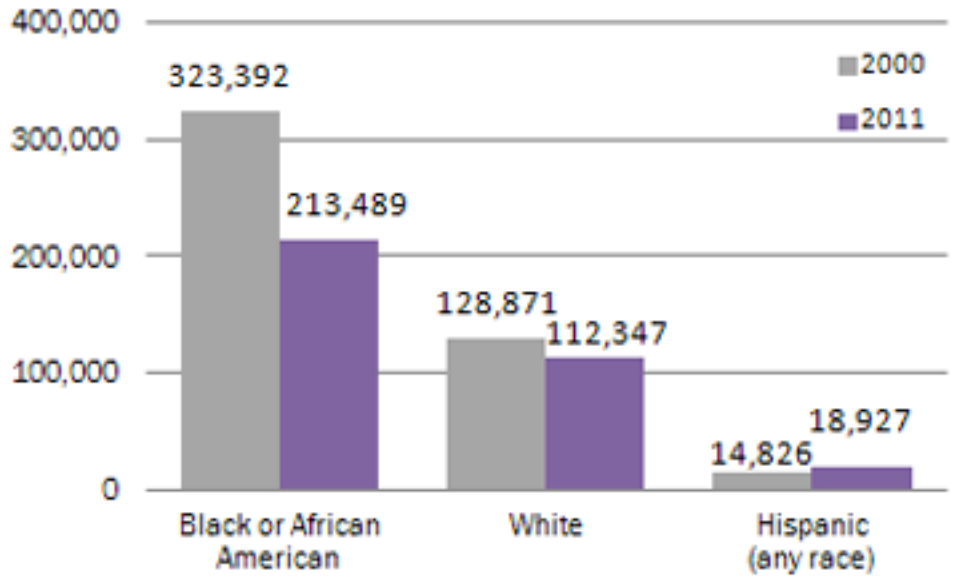


TABLE 3: African-American Populations of New Orleans

African American, White, and Hispanic Populations
Pre-and post-Katrina, in Orleans Parish



Source: GNOCDC analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data from Census 2000 and Population Estimates 2011.

TABLE 4: Population Diversity in New Orleans Before and After Hurricane Katrina

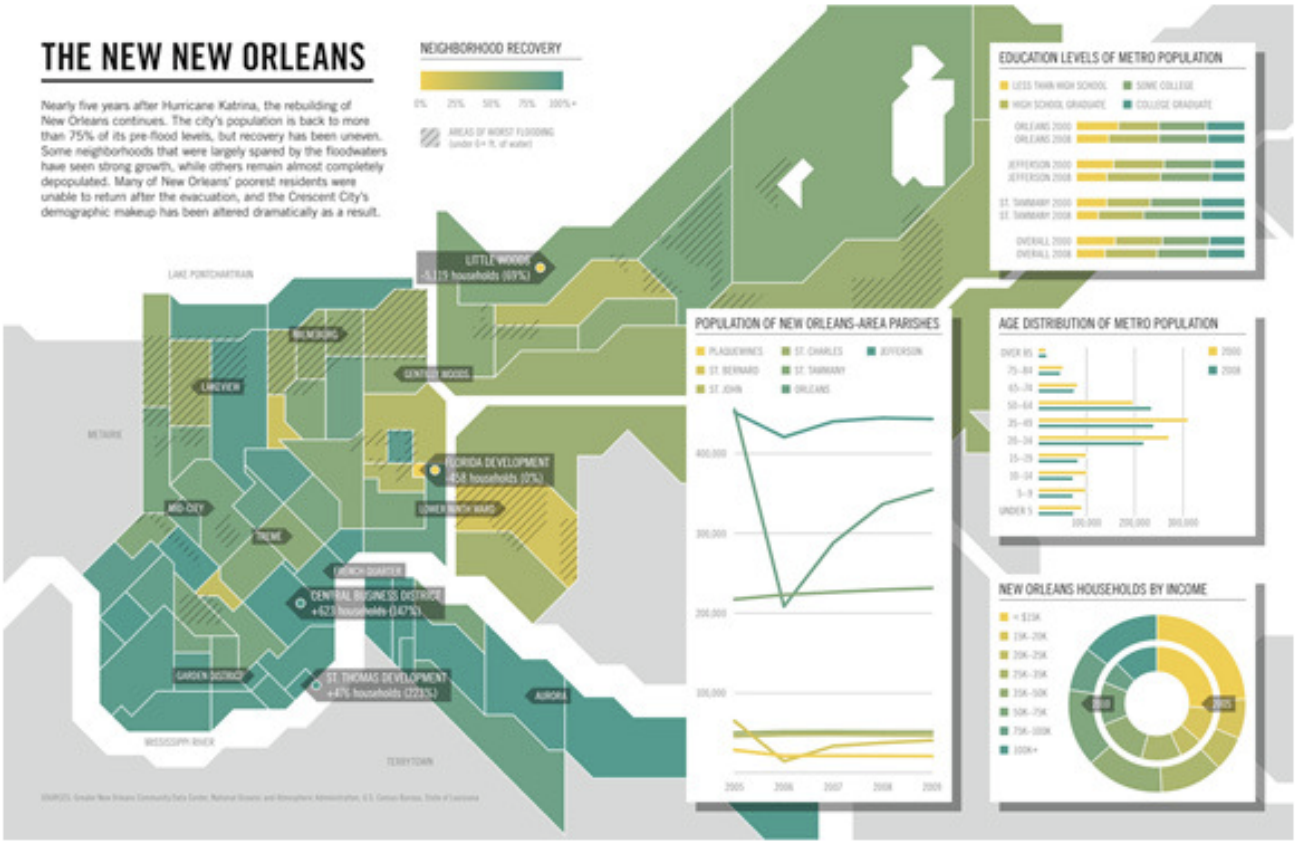


TABLE 5: Age, Education and Income Demographics in New Orleans

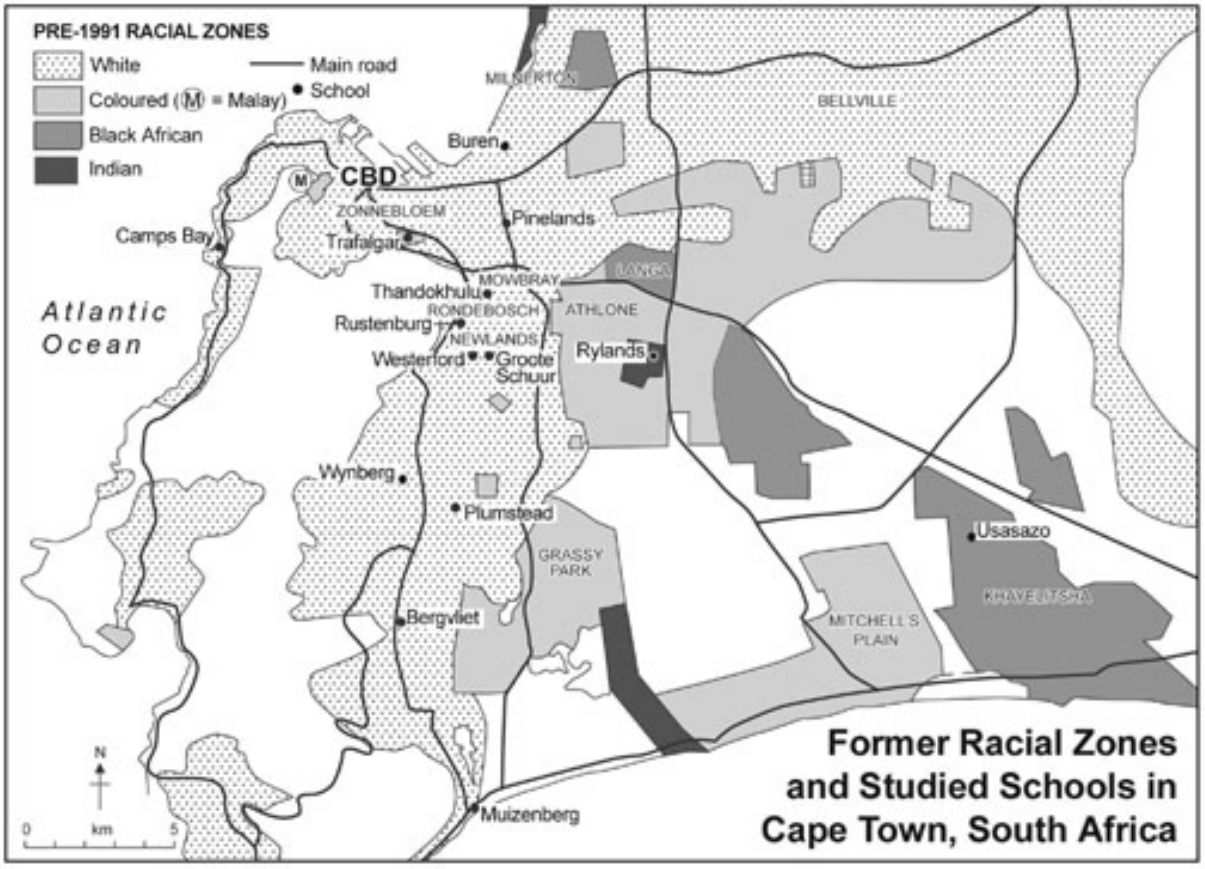


FIG. 1—Location of the studied schools in relation to former racial zones in Cape Town. (Cartography by Ailsa Allen, University of Oxford)

TABLE 6: Apartheid 'Racal Districting' in Cape Town (Prior to 1991)

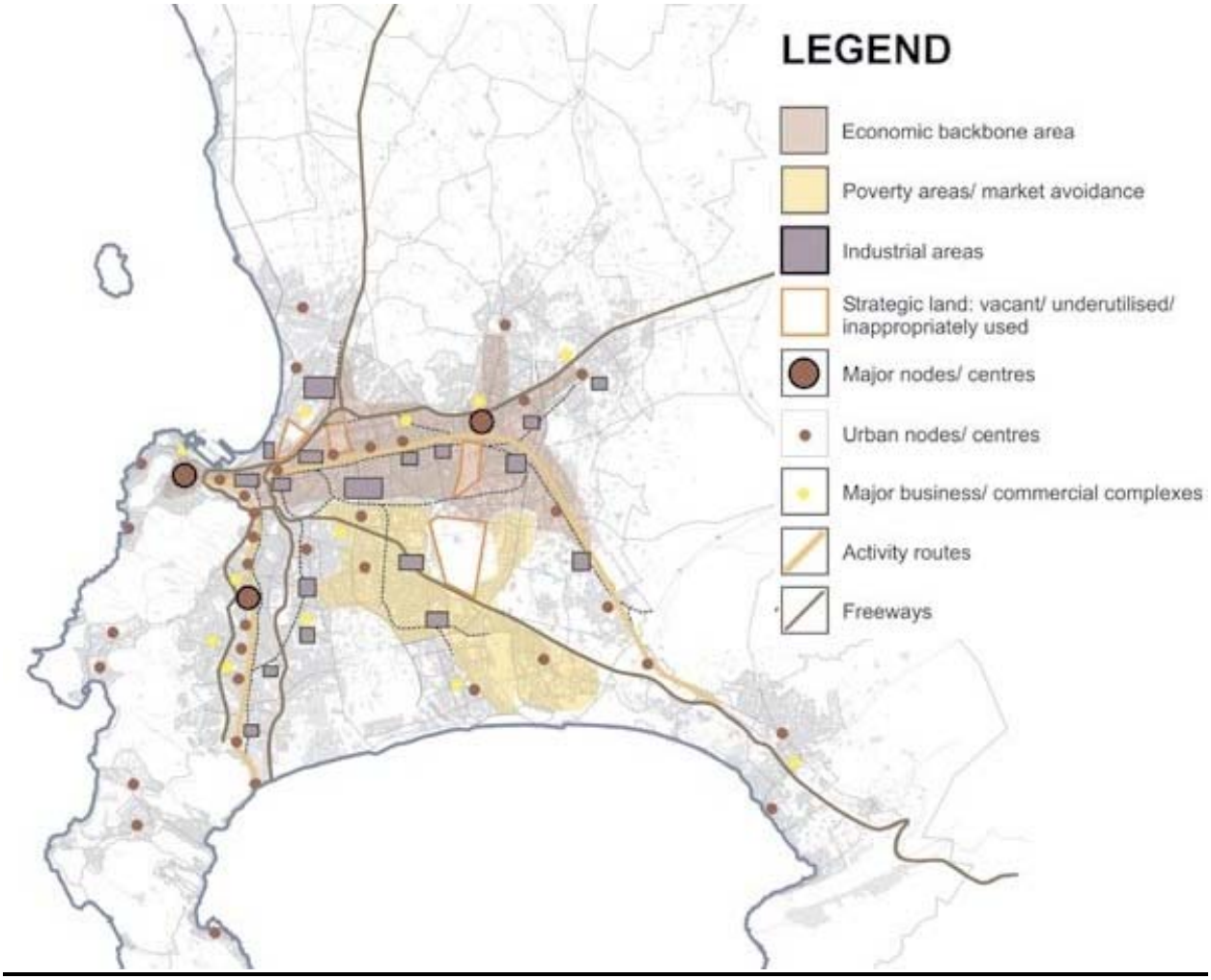


TABLE 7: Economic Development Zones in Cape Town (DATE?)

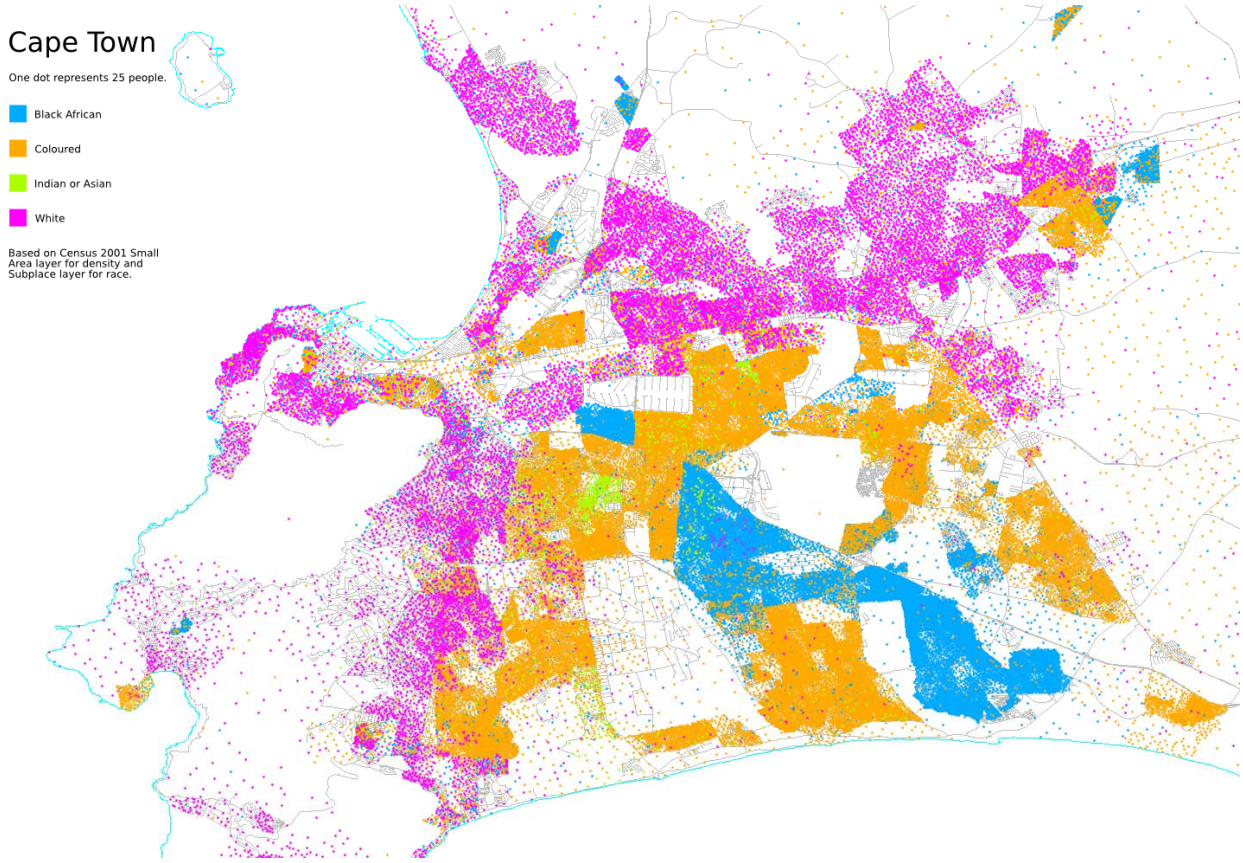


TABLE 8: Demographic Diversity of Cape Town (2001)

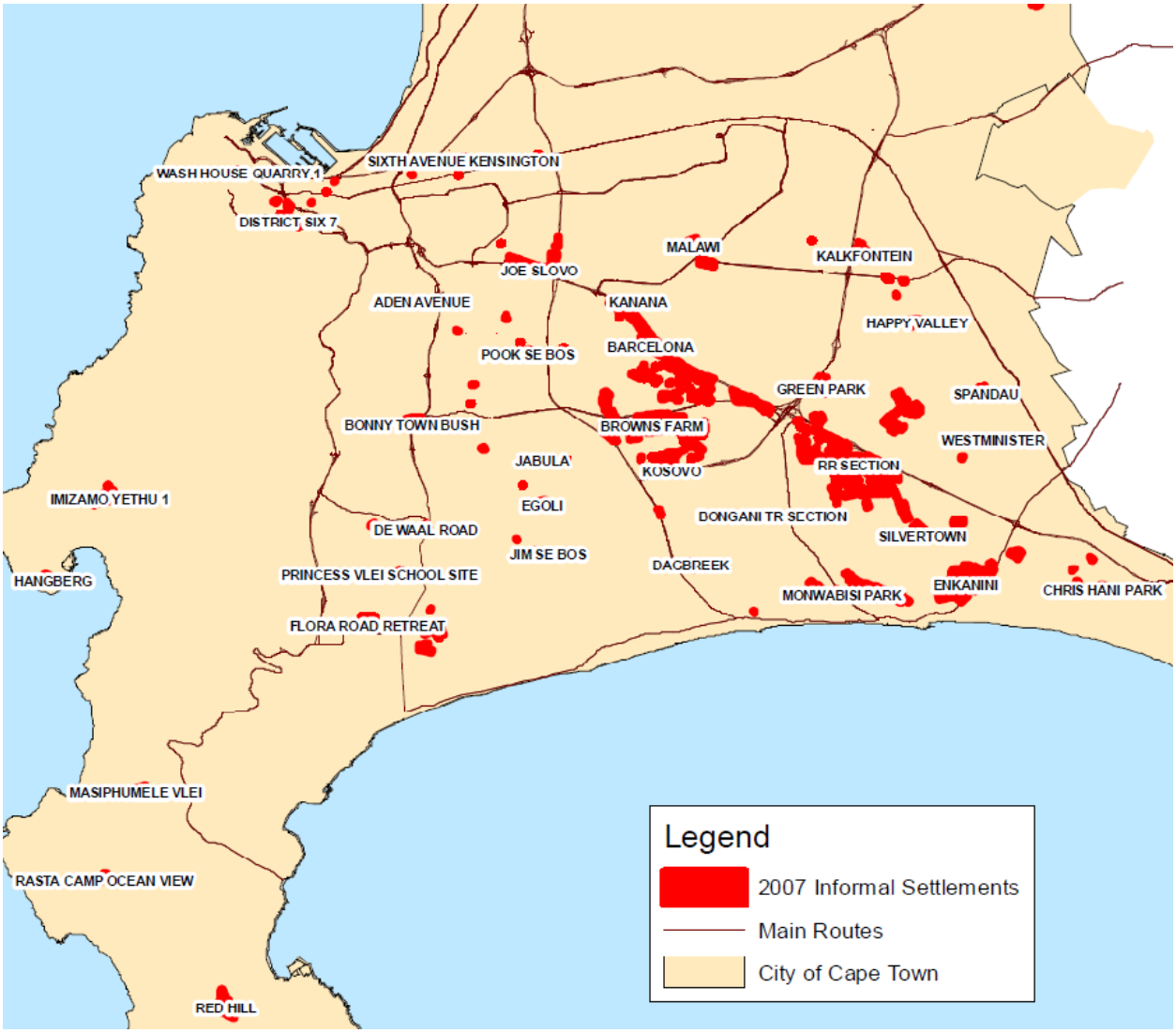
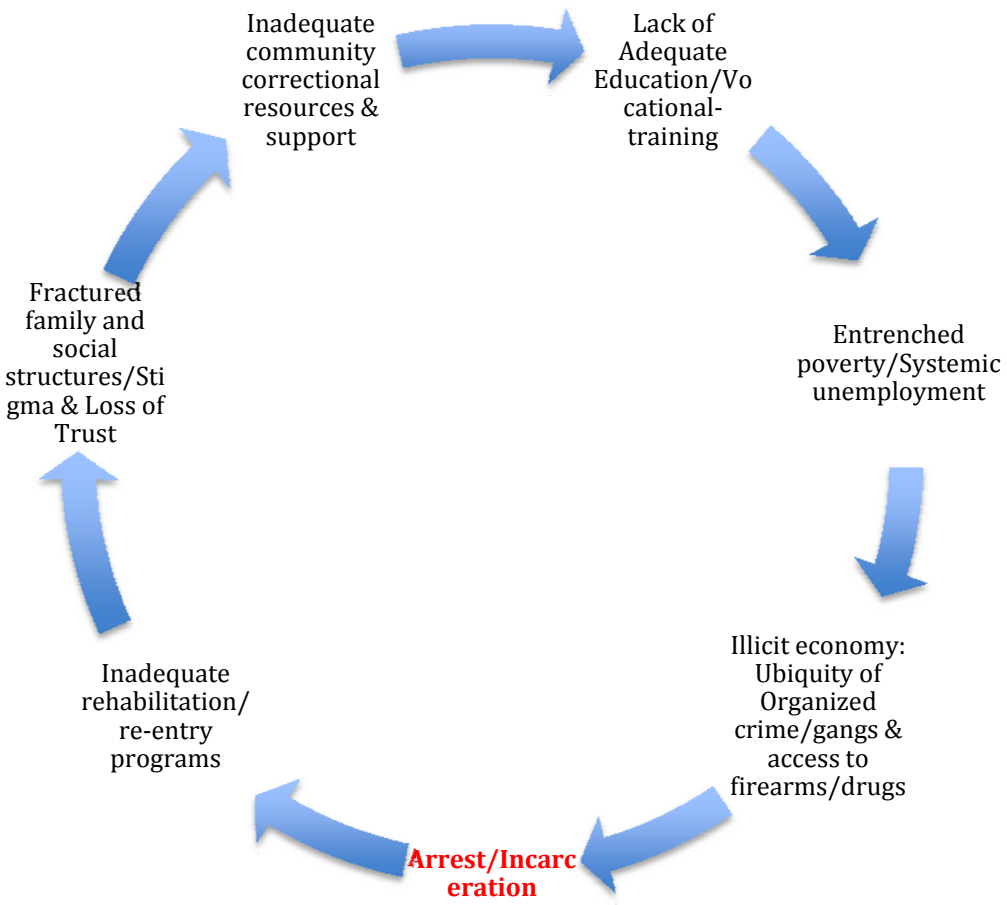
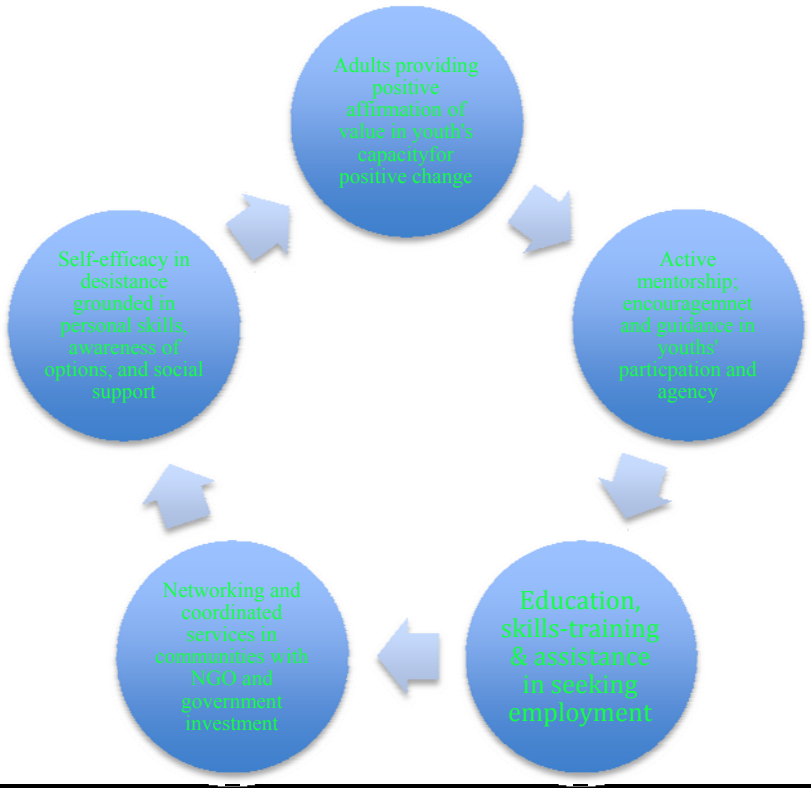


TABLE 9: Informal Settlements in Cape Town



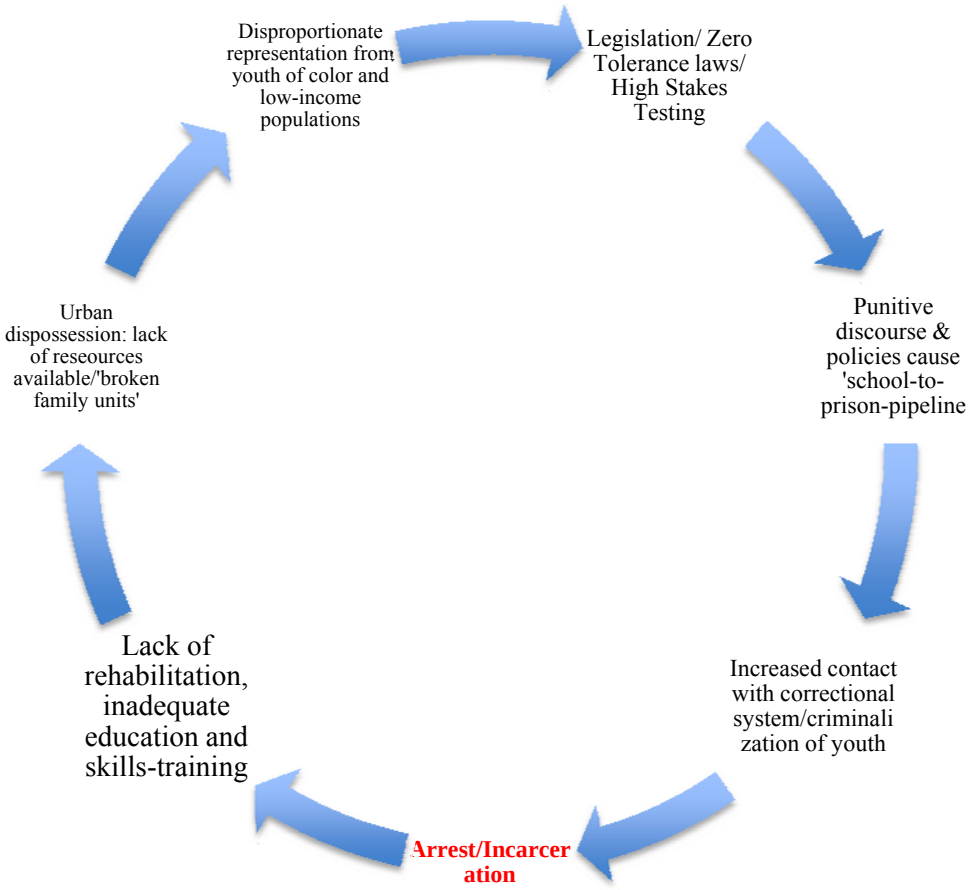
CYCLE OF RECIDIVISM IN CAPE TOWN:

This diagram represents a cycle of key risk factors contributing to the problem of youth crime and incarceration, as derived from primary research findings in Cape Town.



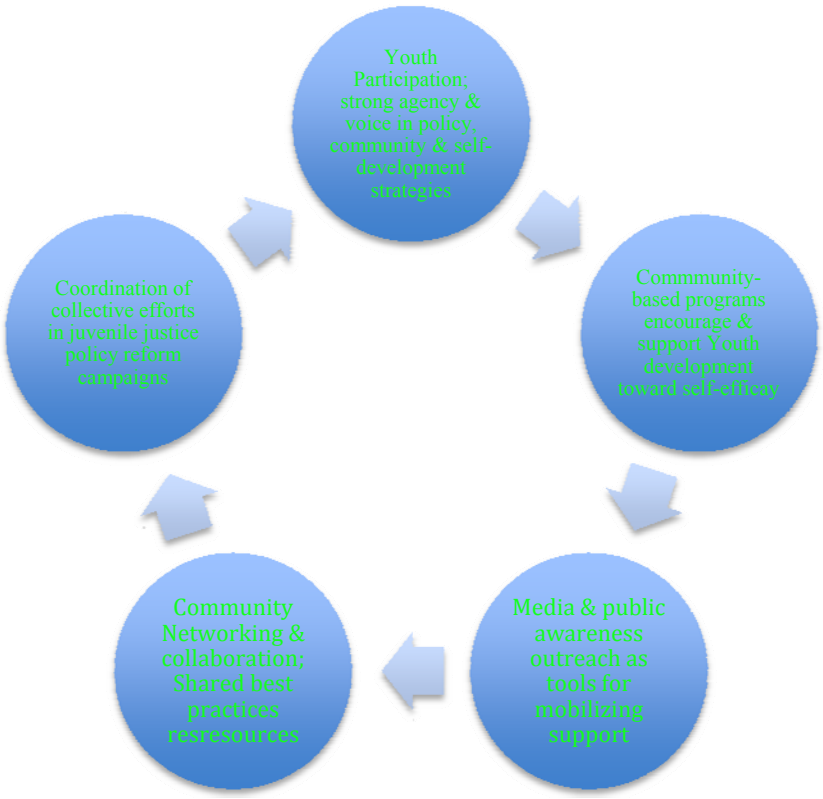
CONTINUUM OF REMEDIES IN CAPE TOWN

This diagram represents a continuum of key protective factors for developing remedial strategies, derived from primary research findings in Cape Town.



CYCLE OF RISK-FACTORS IN NEW ORLEANS

This diagram represents a cycle of key risk factors contributing to the problem of youth crime and incarceration, as derived from primary research findings in New Orleans.



CONTINUUM OF PROTECTIVE-FACTORS IN NEW ORLEANS

This diagram represents a continuum of key protective factors for developing remedial strategies, derived from secondary research findings in New Orleans.

IRBPHS PERMISSION LETTER

April 24, 2012□□□□

Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects□
University of San Francisco□2130 Fulton Street□San Francisco, CA 94117

Dear Members of the Committee:
□□On behalf of Young in Prison South Africa (YiPSA), I am writing to formally indicate our awareness of the research proposed by Ms. Ariel Marshall, a student at USF. We are aware that Ms. Marshall intends to conduct her research by facilitating art and writing workshops in the Juvenile Center at Pollsmoor Prison. We are aware that she may cite the work produced by the youth, contingent upon their explicit permission, and with the option to have their names omitted or changed in the text of her research. Additionally, we are aware that she will conduct an indeterminate number of interviews with youth inmates, their family members, schoolteachers and prison wardens.
□□I am the Volunteer Coordinator of YiPSA in Cape Town and thus am responsible for volunteer relations. I give Ms. Marshall permission to conduct her research in our organization.
If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact by e-mail at tarisai@younginprison.org

Sincerely,□□□□

Nkosinathi Buyana
Volunteer Coordinator of Young in Prison, South Africa (YiPSA)

UNIVERSITY OF
SAN FRANCISCO

[illegible]
International Studies

Master of Arts in International Studies (MAIS) Program
INTERNSHIP AGREEMENT

Student Name: ARIELA MARSHALL

Name of Organization YOUNG IN PRISON SOUTH AFRICA

Phone: 0214485275 Website: WWW.YOUNGINPRISON.ORG.ZA

Organization Supervisor: NKOSINATHI BUYANA

Title: VOLUNTEER COORDINATOR

Phone: 021 448 5275 Email: NKOSINATHI@YOUNGINPRISON.ORG.ZA

Internship Title: VOLUNTEER Dates of Internship: JUNE 2012

☐ This internship requires travel

Please list the locations outside of the U.S. the student will be traveling:

_____

Note: If the fieldwork or internship will take place in a country where the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Consular Affairs has issued a Travel Warning, the location may not be approved at the discretion of the Academic Director, in consultation with the Provost and Vice Provost for Academic Affairs.

I agree to complete the proposed internship in a professional manner under the supervision of the Organization Supervisor to fulfill the requirements of the internship listed above.

_____ _____
Student Signature Date

I agree to supervise, guide learning, and evaluate the proposed internship of the student in a professional manner to help achieve the requirements of the internship listed above.

_____ 11/05/2012
Organization Supervisor Signature Date

_____ _____
Academic Director Signature Date

PLEASE SEE REVERSE SIDE

Following the internship, the program will distribute a brief questionnaire via email to obtain feedback. Both the student and the organization supervisor are encouraged to contact the program office for any reason related to the internship.

College of Arts and Sciences
Kalmanovitz Hall 332
2130 Fulton Street
San Francisco, CA 94117

Summary of Student's Duties and Training:
(To be completed by Organization Supervisor. You may include a separate sheet for your description, but please attach it to this form.)

THE STUDENT WILL: DELIVER A PROGRAM OF WORKSHOPS THAT ANALYSE AND CHALLENGE BEHAVIOUR AND HELPS YOUNG PEOPLE RESIST THE FORCES OF DIFFICULTIES AS WELL AS BUILD AND DEVELOP KEY SOCIAL/LIFE SKILLS.

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES
POLLSMOOR PRISON
PRIVATE BAG X4
TOKAI
7966

Date: Wednesday, 06 June 2012 My ref:
Tel: 021- 700 1148 Fax: 021 – 7019909 or 021 - 7015445
Division: Development & Care Cell:0836028699
Email: Collen.Jacobs@dcs.gov.za

POLLSMOOR MANAGEMENT AREA

Dear Sir/Ma'am

RE: TEMPORARY PERMIT FOR

Ariel Marshal	P 454789973
Taonatose Jiri	CN 428454
Bushy Ratsedi	ID 8305315816087
Pearl Nel	ID 6304210194080
Isabel Anne Cooper	ID 5708280006084
Shupai Schnabel Mchuchu	ID 8805270798089
Lasley Anne	ID 9004260074086
Llewellyn Alfred	ID 7303155103089
Chrisopher Phakiso	ID 7009085821084
Mulalo Grace	ID 9106280262086
Rosita Karating	ID 7612310111088
Max Rahill	P 476377564

OF YOUNG IN PRISON

Permission is granted to the above mentioned facilitators to implement Life Skills programmes at all Centre s, as approved by the DCS Quality Assurance Committee.

Management will be responsible for security and proof of identity must be supplied.

For more information please contact the Q &A COORDINATOR - MR. COLLEN JACOBS on the above mentioned numbers.

This permit is valid from 06 June 2012 to 31 August 2012 , as requested.

Yours in the Service of Humanity

for

AREA COMMISSIONER
CORRECTIONAL SERVICES
Q &A COORDINATOR - MR. COLLEN JACOBS

Copy to Security

POLLSMOOR BESTUURSAREA
DEPARTEMENT KORRIGEERDE DIENSTE: POLLSMOOR
PRIVAATSAK X4, TOKAI 7966
2012 -06- 06
CORRECTIONAL SERVICES: POLLSMOOR
PRIVATE BAG X4, TOKAI 7966
POLLSMOOR MANAGEMENT AREA

THE DEFERENT \ THEROLE I WILL LIKE 2 PLAY IN MY COMMUNITY WHEN I WILL BE RELEASED

I HAVE BEEN LIVING IN LOCATION MORE THAN FIFTY IN YEARS" IN C-TOWN. WHERES I MOVE IN THE STREET'S I SEE SO MANY THING WHICH BREAKS MY HEART WHEN I SEE THE YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE STREET'S BEASY WITHA DRUGS, ALCOHOL – OTHERES ARE MOVING UP AND DOWN IN PRISON.

REALY IT BREAKS MY HEART WHEN I SEE THE WAY WE LIVE THE FREEDOM." IT MAKES ~~MY~~ ME TO THINK ABOUT THE FREEDOM FIGHTER'S LIKE STEVE BIKO, NELSON-MANDELA. THOSE ARE THE FREEDOM THEY PUT THEIR LIFE IN RISK FOR US. BUT THAT MEANS WE DONT KNOW WHAT THIS WERD FREEDOM MEANS

THE ROLE THAT I WILL LIKE TO PLAY IN MY COMMUNITY TIS TO CALL ALL-THE YOUNG PEOPLE TOGETHER AND SHARE OUR VIEWS AND TRAI TO FIND OUT. THE SOLUTION ABOUT THIS MATER. BECOUSE IF WE DONT FIND THE SOLUTION - IT WILL BE ~~DEFF~~ I DIFFICULT FOR US TO LET THE NEXT GENERATION WHO WE ARE AND WHERE WE FROM

MY MASSEGE TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTER'S LIKE NELSON MANDELA, GERLADE SONTONGA AND STIVE BIKO

~~I DO WHAT~~ AI
I DO APPRECIATE TO THEM WHAT THEY HAVE DONE FOR US COUSE THEY DIDNT FIGHT FOR THEM THEY FIGHT US. I WILL SAY LONG LIFE OR LIVENG 2 THEM

CHADwin Malgas
18 July 2012
If I must go Back To my community
I will show them that im A new Person and i Have A CHANGE
of Heart I not Gonna ROB People Anymore And I Going To work
for My Money I AM willins To Do anythers to Help.

I will Love others And support them through their struggles.

Lwandle dyasi

18 July 2012

what i might do on mandela day

on this mandela day, i would do things that my community would never forget about this day, i might go to the orfenage village and spend my 67 seconds with the kids and play with them give them food and clothes to wear, sing to them so that they could be happy that is what i would do for my 67minutes on mandelas day or if there is something else i could do to help, i would do it just to make nelson mandela happy even if his not here with me but its so sad cause i am inside prison but i will make sure that when i come out of this place i will do something on this day.

VOLUNTEER

18 JULY 2012

MANDLAS BIRTHDAY

WAEN I GO OUT OF PRISON

I WANT TO BE A CHANGED PERSON
TO SHOW MY COMMUNITY TAAT IM A
NOW DOINS GOOD THINGS. I WANT THEM
TO SEE THAT I HAVE CHANGED.

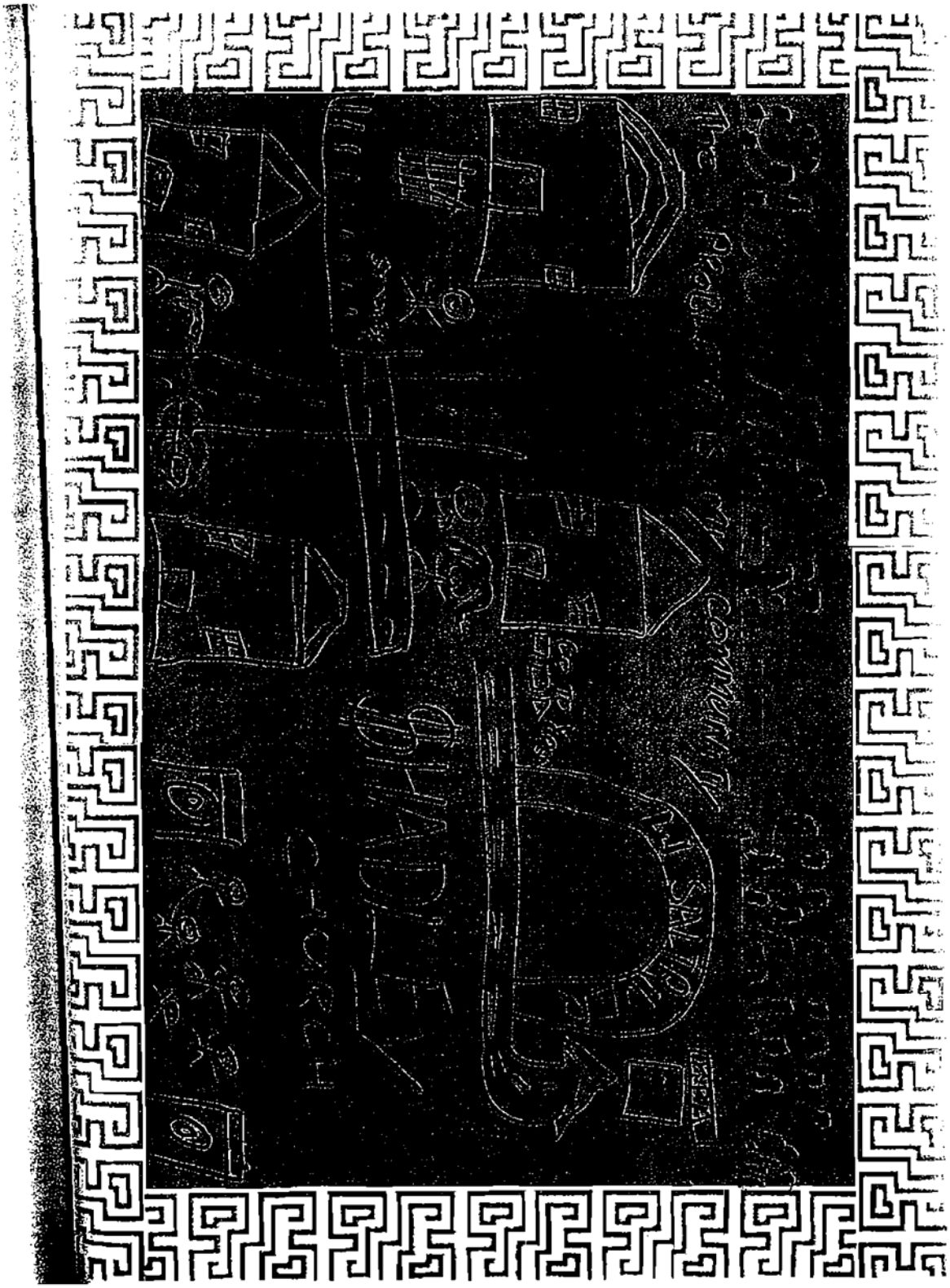
I WILL HAVE NEW FRIENDS
I WONT ROBB PEOPLE BECAUSE IS
NOT A GOOD THIVS
I WILL HELP CLEAN THE STREETS
OF MY COMMINITY. DO GOOD WORK
FOR MY COMMUNITY
WHEN I GET OUT I WANT TO GO TO SCHOOL

[redacted]

18 July 2012

I want to
I me. #sle my community to Againe
I will go to the community leeder
And ash him to Malee A ##meeting
So I can Vologise to them lor
All the bad Things I did I
Want to Warn the Young legle
Bout prizon really. I Want :o
enon age them not to smdee
drugs and have bad Wiends
and nd to come to fr, [redacted]

Obstacle
Solution
Chasing one
Tantrums
Speak
Love
Help
Understanding



Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

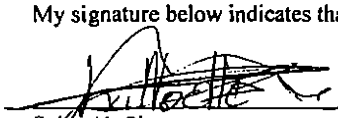
- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

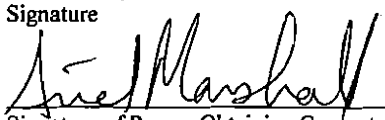
PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.



12/07/12

Subject's Signature Date of Signature



12 July

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date of Signature

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

July 17 2012

Subject's Signature Date of Signature

Ariel Marshall July 16, 2012

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date of Signature

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

Subject's Signature — Date — of Signature

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent — Date — of Signature

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

Shaun Velapi 18.07.12

Subject's Signature Date of Signature

Ariel Marshall July 18, 2012

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date of Signature

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

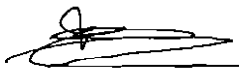
- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.



Subject's Signature Date of Signature

Ariel Marshall 19 July, 2012

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date of Signature

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

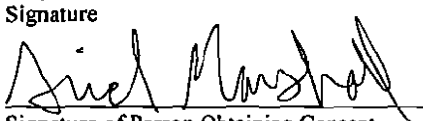
- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

19/July/2012

Subject's Signature Date of Signature



July 19, 2012

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date of Signature

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

[redacted] 18 July 2012

Subject's Signature Date of Signature

Ariel Marshall July 18, 2012

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date of Signature

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

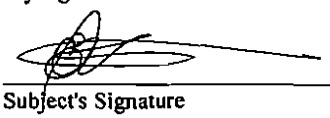
- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.



19 July 2012

Subject's Signature Date of Signature

Ariel Marshall 19 July, 2012

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date of Signature

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

A. Marshall — 11 July

Subject's Signature — Date of Signature

Ariel Marshall — 11, July

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent — Date of Signature

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

Bulelwa Mapikahe 11-06-12

Subject's Signature Date of Signature

Ariel Marshall 11 July, 2012

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date of Signature

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

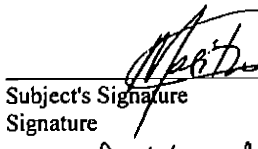
- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

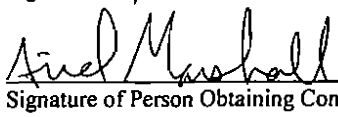
- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.



Subject's Signature — Date of Signature: 16/07/2012



Signature of Person Obtaining Consent — Date of Signature: July 16, 2012

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

Due to the fact that this research does not cause me any financial cost, I will not be reimbursed for my involvement.

Questions

Before signing this form, I have talked to Ariel Marshall and she has answered all my questions. If I have further questions about the study, I may email Ms. Marshall at asmarshall@usfca.edu, or call 707-621-3597. Additionally, I wish to speak with the researcher's thesis advisor, Dorothy Kidd, I can do so at kiddd@usfca.edu.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first contact Ms. Marshall. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080, United States of America.

Consent

I wish to (please mark one option):

- o Remain Confidential
- o Remain Anonymous

The interview answers will be audio-recorded unless I mark the option below:

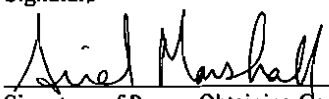
- o I DO NOT wish to have my voice audio-recorded

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this study in full or in part, or to withdraw from it at any point. I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

18/07/2012

Subject's Signature Date of Signature



July 18, 2012

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date of Signature

INTERVIEWS: Cape Town

Owen Butler

Senior YiP Facilitator; Former inmate at Pollsmoor. From Cape Town area. Male, early forties. Afrikaans and Englosh-speaking.
owenbutler@ymail.com
Q: What do you believe are the main causes and origins of youth violence and reoccurring incarceration in South Africa?
O: It always comes back to two things; poverty and environment. Older people may be illiterate so the kids think that's normal, everything they see in their environment they think is the 'right way' of things. Violence is caused by influences; maybe friends or even conversations you overhear, slowly you begin to develop violent thoughts. Family is part of it, they're in the middle of it all. They drive it. Gangsterism and drugs and alcoholism follows. Those allow an individual to become more isolated from society. They are looking for protection, power and authority, they try to find it at home and sometimes they don't find it there. So they find it in gangs. . It's what they want and need, even if they find it in that negative way, they'll go to it. This is how the cycle gets started.

Q: What does rehabilitation look like to you, how have you experienced it?
O: For me it's all about behavior modification. No one else can rehabilitate me, it can only happen when I'm in a safe environment. To me it means to enable myself to allow people to invest their lessons in me. It starts with self-awareness. The way I bring it to others is by designing a program with fun activities, using myself as an example and making connections between decision-making and life-skills. I make an environment where we move together, step by step through discussions, games, activities that promote self-awareness. It's a matter of bringing realization, getting them engaged and wanting to know more. Then the move to self-esteem and personal development is closer. It starts to make a space where you can understand the difference between what's been learned (old habits) and what is new knowledge. That way I can identify individual needs, personal development. You start to focus on the future, on building something. You start tapping into feelings. As a facilitator, I'm always doing activities to make them feel things. Life orientation starts with observing where you are, then identifying where you want to go. So, in rehabilitation, the main goal is to change behavior, then change attitudes as well. It means dealing with maladaptive thinking and deprogramming old ways of thinking. First though, a person has to want to change. Anger, fear and pain are obstacles to change. Communication helps break through those. You have to address influences like gangsterism and the media.You start by working on these symptoms. The disease is violence. It is curable, that's where behavior modification occurs, in getting from the symptoms down to the root of the disease.

Q: Where do you see the most need for support and intervention among repeat offenders?
O: I used to focus on prevention. Now I think it's intervention, there's not enough support or resources for it. We need 1000s more YiP programs. If intervention isn't adequate, all the previous prevention mechanisms won't work to keep them from seeing an 'appeal' in the criminal lifestyle. Intervention is the key to breaking the conflict cycle. You have to focus on the origins, the stressful incident that triggered the cycle to begin with. You must break that cycle. Thought processes is where that cycle gets. We need to shift our thinking, show them how it can be done.

Kholofelu Mashego
YiP Advocacy and Communications Coordinator; From Pretoria, university graduate. Female, age twenty-seven. English and Zulu-speaking, some Xhosa.
kholofelo@younginprison.org.za

Q: In your opinion, what are the root causes of youth crime and prison recidivism?

K: I think it points to the gap between rich and poor and the failings of even our progressive constitution. One of South Africa's greatest struggles is implementation of policies. They're not in touch with what is happening on the ground and the actual risk factors associated with young people. Other contributing factors are the level of education, household environment: size and need, parental substance abuse, and from eighteen upwards there are not enough jobs. The labor market is unable to absorb the high numbers of unemployed. There is forty-percent unemployment among youth in South Africa. They are sitting idle, in a family structure where violence is ingrained in the culture. Masculinity and gender roles also influence how young men perceive their role in society: territoriality, power and control are big themes. Violence is a norm, it's understood as a way of gaining control, as a necessary means to an end. The government is slow to react, looking for policy options as a quick fix, not as a long term process.

Q: What is the history and nature of your involvement in YiP and how do you perceive your work in relation to the inmates?

K; I am currently the Advocacy and Communications Manager. I studied Children's Rights and Juvenile Justice. I came to YiP as a volunteer initially, to work with the Youth Empowerment Leadership program. Young people know their own challenges best, so the training program focuses on how to train them to advocate for their own rights. It serves as preparation for Youth Parliament (footnote more on that). Juvenile offenders have never been represented at Youth Parliament. I'm working on getting them there next year. By South African law, a criminal rcord precludes involvement in politics, but our goal is to counter that by piloting the Siyakanah program (footnote; YiP program, means'Building Eachother').We identify potential speakers and leaders from the post-release program to play a part in this initiative. The problem with working inside the prison is that they're transferred so often to other prisons, so it's hard to get any continuity with them, it disrupts their activism. This year we decided to work with the post-release individuals so they can participate more consistently with the Siyakhana project. There is also a need for structural change. We need to be doing focus groups with warders (prison wardens), using human rights perspectives with a rehabilitative methodology. We have been doing something called 'Appreciative Inquiry' with them, using a storytelling method that's positive and respectful. Finding out what's working and why or why not. It energizes them to recognize their own roles and their own potential for bringing about change in a rehabilitative framework. If real change is to take place, it must include the warders. We did that at Ottery, it was very emotional and effective. We've struggled to get that done at Pollsmoor, we did it once in the men's section, now we're trying to do it for the female section too (footnote frequency of beatings by female warders; discussions between Vuyo, Mel & Nkosinathi). We're trying to include warders as change-makers, to work on a self-awareness process. In these prisons, the warders are trained for security only, not rehabilitation. The White Paper Act on Corrections (footnote more context) says that rehab should be a primary focus. I've worked on a funding proposal called 'Caring for the Care-givers', to work with warders and show them how to do the same work we're doing at YiP. The warders notice a difference when inmates participate in YiP programs. The focus of our work is behavior modification, but it's limited to three times per

week at just three hours per session, so it's not sufficient. If warders did more behavior modification it would help promote consistency as well as reduce gang activity, as they would be too busy to participate in the gang activities (footnote daily practices of Numbers gang). I like Amartya Sen's perspective on development, because it really demonstrates how social development is about access; access to opportunities and knowledge.
Q: What does the process of rehabilitation look like to you?
K: Understanding the concept of freedom, in terms of personal development and understanding one's own role in it all. The restorative justice approach, in a human rights framework, emphasizes ownership of past actions and driving one's own future. Rehabilitation can, and should be, personalized for most effective change. It should empower people to be their own change agents. I am responsible for my actions, my role in wider society, we don't live in isolation. In the web of crime, unemployment, gangsterism and all that, it's all related to issues of trust.

Q: What do you observe as being the most vulnerable stage of development with youth in conflict with the law, (in gangs and in prison), and when do you think intervention is most crucial?
K: I think it's really important to not give up the rehabilitation process once someone's been released from prison. Aftercare is different then the services provided inside, there are new risk factors and specific needs. Yip has been working on strengthening the design of the aftercare program. Our role should be as a safety net, ideally, but in reality we often end up spoon-feeding these guys. Dependency doesn't allow them ownership of their own actions. We need to step back a bit and make it clear to them, 'hey, we can't walk this walk for you, but we're here as a support network'. It has to be an incremental system, there are various levels to it and flexibility is necessary at different points. At first they don't know how to be accountable. That's why there should be a holistic model to meet the different entrance and exit needs (footnote how they differ acc to Post-Release model) A reintegration model must consider the dynamics of family, education, specific social environment, and so on.

Q: In your opinion, what is the weakest link in the spectrum of rehabilitation services?
K: Definitely aftercare. There aren't enough statistics on the rates and reasons for reoffending. Yet it's chronic. Warder focus groups say they keep seeing the same faces over and over again. Community Parole Officers have (should have?) proper systems in place to foster relationships with NGOs, to provide these critical aftercare and follow-up services. And NGOs need to be kept distinct from government organizations (such as the prison-programs/parole officers-footnote how much the govt runs). Government organizations have already been allotted funds, yet they're obviously not getting the job done. Civil society needs to not do the work that government organizations are already paid to do; they can all work together to greater affect, but not confuse their roles and responsibilities. NGOs and government organizations should collaborate but not merge, in order to provide the most effective aftercare for post-release inmates. Prevention is important, yes, but aftercare is really vital because inside prison the desire for personal change is so developed, so intense, and they need those systems of care in order to support them in really acting on that change. But we also need to be there to give them a realistic plan, to help them see how they can overcome their own obstacles. Communities tend to reabsorb them into their old ways , and it's important to recognize that they will, in certain ways go back to how things were. Compromise is necessary, but it can be done in a way that does not foster dependency.

Vuyo Magobiyane

YiP Facilitator; From Gugulethu township. Female, age twenty-five. Education in Child-development. English and Xhosa-speaking.

vuyokazi.magobiyane@gmail.com

Q: In your opinion, what are the main reasons for the high crime and incarceration rates among youth in Cape Town?

V: Poverty is the main one, lack of knowledge about how to get work. For youngsters, too much peer pressure, they want to be seen by their friends as someone who can get away with anything. They (youth) want to be noticed, feel a sense of belonging, like what they get in the gangs. In black culture, in my family, we don't talk to our parents about everything, even though I'm close with my mom. I just learned to cope with it any way, but a lot of youngsters don't know what to do.

Q: What is your role in YiP, and what does your work look like?

V: I started in counseling, volunteered with YiP in 2010. I knew Tarisai before, (YiP Director) from high school and church. I started as Melinda's assistant in post-release, doing counseling. I did workshops in Pollsmoor in Medium A. Did a little admin work too. In 2011, I was employed full-time as a facilitator to teach Life-skills. YiP didn't focus on female inmates before, so I'm working on establishing that connection in Medium B (female section at Pollsmoor). They did not have a structured program, just volunteers sometimes, so I've been creating that program.

Q: How would you describe the goal of the work you do? Your own, personally, and in your role as a YiP facilitator?

V: My personal goal to empower them, to show them that prison is not the only place they can be. There are people who want to see them succeed. I want to show them that they can take initiative, to stand up for themselves. I want to be a role model. YiP's goal is to realize that women's needs are different than the men's. As far as setting new goals and standards for them.

Q: In your personal view, what does rehabilitation look like?

V: When I think back to how the females were when I first got there, they have come far, especially with programs about family issues. Now they're able to open up, they're not stuck where they were anymore. I see how they can make changes for themselves now, and they trust other people more.

Q: *What do you believe is the key to a rehabilitative relationship, between inmates and service providers (such as YiP)*

V: To show you care, to be open with them and tell them your own story, your own struggles so they can know they are not the only ones facing challenges. Being open, showing insight, giving them a platform to trust you, these are all very important. Also to remind them that they can move past their challenges and keep facing reality.

Q: How do YiP post-release services seem to be helping them stay out of prison?

V: Most of them have no one to talk to (at home), it's difficult for them to trust people. When they come here they build a relationship with us, the staff. They can be free, say anything. The way they behave here (at YiP office) is the way they want to be at home.

Q: How does community factor in as a support system for these formerly incarcerated youth? What do you think the community needs to do to show support, if they aren't doing so already?
V: The community should believe in the youngsters, finding out what they need from the community. But they don't really know the root of the problem. In Gugs for example, the community does nothing after inmates are released, not because they don't care, but because they don't know what the kids are going through. They don't take initiative to ask, they think the young people don't need help. What they should be doing is talking to these youngsters, engaging with them. Then, I think they would find the support they need and there would be less crime.

Q: What stage of intervention (prevention, rehabilitation, re-entry) do you think youth are most vulnerable and need most support?
V: I can say prevention, because before joining a gang they can learn about the risks, but once they have joined it is harder to reach them. In the early stages of high school there should be prevention programs. I don't know of any, except what YiP has done sometimes with school presentations (add in Melinda's comments on that topic from later conversation).

FORMER INMATES (5):
Motebang Masitha
Male, age 25. YiP Post-Release Program participant. From Gugulethu Township, Xhosa and English-speaking:
Q: In your view, what are some of the main reasons so many young people are going to prison here in South Africa?
M: I think there's a lack of proper supervision for children and a lack of role models. In many communities (townships) kids are used to verbal abuse and violent acts, not positive influences. They don't care much about other stuff. If they had role models they could do other things, other opportunities, learn what a library is for. It's hectic (footnote; 'crazy', chaotic) in a community where poverty and unemployment are so big. But those aren't the reasons someone goes to prison. I have friends who were always poor who did not make the choice of crime. Politically, townships are disadvantaged places. The government forgets about them, stuff they should be doing for the people, they only do during voting time. Schools could have mentorship projects with high school kids that mentor grade school kids. There was one school in my community that did that. We went to the principle with the idea and asked for help to do that project. Media contributes too, it's f**ked up , making a culture where it's cool to be violent and a gangsta. A lot of hip hop culture pushes that. Definitely part of the problem.

Q: What kinds of rehabilitation programs did you have access to in prison?
M: Mostly fake programs. People who get paid by government and private investors, just short courses, they don't bother to go back and check how it impacted the guys' lives. There weren't many programs at Pollsmoor but I tried to learn from all of them. YiP is one of the few programs that take the time to look at what they do and how to improve. It all depends on you. If you're willing to change anything can be helpful, you can learn from any program. But some religious groups they kind of force it on you, you know? I learned about Buddhism and Taoism from the library in Medium B, those are different, they don't push the religion on you. I had the choice to

be locked in my cell all day, in school all day, or the library all day. I chose the library. It helped me block myself from other things. Like the prison code, the Numbers, if you take part in that it keeps you busy with activities all day. I was a Blackboard for the 28s (footnote), so I taught the new guys how to operate in the Numbers. I like reading and writing a lot, so I wrote letters and court appeals for the other guys. In my spare time I did tattoos (footnote zombies and staples). So they didn't bother me, they let me do my thing because I was useful to them. Slowly I came out of it by spending more and more time in the library. In prison, people play mind games. Everyone wears a mask. It's scary man. If you're intimidated by that you'll suffer a lot. I learned to see behind their masks instead of putting one on myself. Like if someone came to me to write a letter I ask why. They tell me they can't write, I ask why. They tell me they dropped from school, I say why. In that way I get their story, I know something about them. I was part of the 28 gang (he was in for 6 years, came out last year, so he would've been 18-19). The main thing back then was to keep order. Now it's just gangsterism. It's huge man, it's hectic. Sexual slavery, constant abuse, power games. People are making money now. Even when I was in the gang I would tell new guys, 'I can't recommend joining the gangs. Once you're in there's no turning back if you're a person who has been mentally overpowered. In solitary confinement (footnote: single cells? Medium A?) it's two steps to the toilet, two steps to the window, two to the door. And two people share that cell. The heat cooks you in there during summer, and you freeze in winter (footnote; no window panes in men's section). So, coming from a place like that, you want to try anything new that's offered, any program.

Q: What is the nature of your involvement with YiP , in the past and currently?
M: Some facilitators, including Nkosinathi (footnote as being my main informant), came to Pollsmoor and did some role-playing theater stuff in 2007. I wanted to express myself, you know? I helped collect some other guys to prepare for YiP. After that drama experience I was better able to influence other guys to do positive things. Just that one YiP program was enough to open things up for me. I did a lot of studying after that. I passed my matric (footnote; high school diploma) inside there. I was still a juvenile at that time and they were always transferring us all around from one prison to another. It was hard to stay in any program, had to fight to keep going to them. I called YiP when I got out and I told them, 'listen, I'm on the brink of becoming a reoffendor, I could rob a place right now'. But I didn't want to go back to that. I told them 'I need help, my life's a mess, I need something to hold on to'. I already had some plans though, some interviews for school scholarships, but it was a lot of stress. YiP helped me out man. Took off some of my stress. Out there, people still stigmatize us, look as us like criminals. It's hard to see yourself clearly when people are throwing garbage at you (verbally). At YiP there's no judgment, you can think clearly because there's no stress about the past there. That's really helpful. Also the access to tools and resources and networking here at YiP. They assist us however they can, we just have know what we need ourselves.. I got a job with Mel's help (footnote; Mel's job description).

Q: How did the process of rehabilitation and/or change look and feel for you?
M: It was something that happened over time, but I always knew I could get out of that life, I had so many ideas (too paraphrased?) I started writing proposals at Pollsmoor to for a gardening project and a gumboots dance club, a book club and a debating society. It started with these other guys who did this stuff at Brownwood (prison) when the 2004 legislation came out to amend the Criminal Act, gave inmates more rights (footnote;relating to rehab). But at the time when I was

trying to get these programs going at Pollsmoor we were still getting beatings for having a copy of the constitution in our cell (footnote; Nko confirms this to be true).
When I was at Malmesbery (prison), it was called a 'Center of Excellence', but it was like a joke. Beautiful on the outside, but inside was really like hell. (too paraphrased?) We put together a group in there called Group of Hope. We had a vegetable garden, we gave stuff for hospitals and soup kitchens. Sometimes they let us out yo clean hospital rooms (check the veracity of this, how is that possible?)

Q: Were there any programs or support groups in your community when you came out?
M: No, nothing like that, they don't. It's all up to you to make the first step. There are always people to help you, but you have to find them, or make yourself visible so they can find you. YiP is doing a great job, although there's always room for improvement. In the communities, drugs are a big part of the problem in terms of going back to the way things were, ending up back in prison.

Q: So why bother changing, if a life of crime is easy, available and everyone else you know is doing it? What makes you want to choose a different lifestyle?
M: My first day in solitary (single cell), I started reviewing my whole life to see where I went wrong. By six years (in lock-up) I knew what I needed to do but there were always things preventing me; abuse from warders, gang stuff, family problems…I sat down with myself and decided everything that I was going to do differently when I got out. That was six months ago, Now I'm doing most of that stuff. Only problem is sitting at a desk in a classroom for a few hours hurts my back, because I've been lying down on a bed all these years.

Johnny Moller
Male, age 19. YiP Post-Release Program participant. Xhosa and English-speaking.
Q: How did you get involved with YiP?
J: They came to prison, at Pollsmoor. I joined them because it was fun for me, nice. It's boring in prison. They teach about how to make self esteem, not to give up. Like, maybe if I need money I don't have to steal it any more. I can get a job. YiP used to come to where I stayed, now I come to them, look on the computer for jobs. I think about what to do with my life. I want to be a bus driver and I like to be someone who can teach young boys all about life.

Q: What made you want to join the Post-Release program when you got out? How did you come to that decision?
J: When I walk in the streets and see my friends but instead of doing crimes with them I just greet them and go on. YiP helped make me a stronger person, to know I can make a change in my own life. Before, when I was inside, I didn't believe them. But when I came out I saw it was true. I came because I want to do something different than before. YiP shows me how to keep going.

Q: What makes you want to make changes in your lifestyle?
J: Robbing is easy, but not when it runs out. When you stab someone you don't feel it but later you start to feel a pain about it, hurt in my heart. It's not nice to think about. I wouldn't like it if

someone stab me just for money. It's nice to be with my friends but when the money finishes everyone is fighting. Then it's not fun anymore. I like to rather have choices.

Lusindiso Nodlela (aka Mbe)

Male, age 23. Post-Release Program Participant. From Gugulethu township. Xhosa and English-speaking:

Q: In your experience, what are some of the main reasons that young people getting involved with gangs and crime, going to prison repeatedly?

L: Personally, I wanted to prove a point that I could do armed robbery. It was kind of a peer pressure thing, you know, people are doing it a lot where I grew up. First I started with shop-lifting down at the Waterfront (a mall). I was thirteen and I was in there, I saw a man with jeans that I liked so much I asked him where he bought them from. He said, 'it doesn't matter, you couldn't afford them'. So I stole those same jeans from the store. I won't say I had no choice, but I wanted those jeans and I took them. I got caught outside on the street while I was putting them on over my other pants. They took me to the station and my Grammy came to get me. I didn't stay in overnight. After that it seemed too easy. Then I did a lot of shop-lifting. Not just to sell, but things I like, I wanted to have things. In July, 2004, I was sixteen. I got arrested and sentenced to two months. My bail was 300 Rand (approximately $30 USD). When I was in there I thought, 'I'll never do this again'. But soon as I got out these older guys from my neighborhood said to me, 'now you can do your story'. They gave me a gun and I did armed robbery. It was like heaven in my hands, when I have a gun no one can stop me, no one can tell me what to do. For me, a gun is for making money, not for killing, just for making money. I was having that mind like the whole world is in my hands. At age seventeen, it was a Sunday, December 11, 2004, Grammy asked me to get a package of milk. I was smoking a cigarette. I felt like someone was following me. I just turned my head and then wham, I was on the ground. I think it was a hocky stick, or a golf club they hit me with. I lost my eye, but it could have been worse. I changed after that. I didn't have any feeling for anybody. I became brutal. Even stabbing guys. In January, 2005 I got caught for another armed robbery. I was sentenced to six years at Pollsmoor. All that other stuff from before caught up to me.

Q: What kind of rehabilitation programs did you have inside?

L: I did school only. I thought the other programs were boring. I did the Church group only because then I could smuggle things to and from the single cell guys (maximum-security). They get all kinds of stuff in there, and they wanted what I could get them. When YiP showed up I only went because the girl, Julia, was so nice-looking. I just went to look at her. I didn't come to participate, just went to tell her she's beautiful. She handled the situation very cool. So I thought, 'if I want to keep seeing her, I have to keep going to that program'. After three weeks I saw the record of what I was doing and it was good. I had the mind that I was grabbing all the opportunities. Because she (Julia) made me feel special, gave me responsibility. The other prison programs aren't like that, the warders don't care about us and we don't like them. The social workers did some life skills and self-awareness. They bring a lot of benefit, I didn't have any background of myself before, no goals, no plans. I was about to join the Numbers game (prison gangs), but with all those programs going on I changed my mind. In a hundred guys, ninety-five are in the Numbers. I started going to church, not to smuggle. I wanted to stand up on my own, wanted to prove I could stand for myself, look after myself. If you're not in one of the gangs that makes you a 'Franz'. You get treated badly, called names by the gang members. But they didn't

fuck with me because they knew I would fuck with them. I was doing my own things, selling *gangja* inside. It was like I controlled them in a way, because they needed what I was selling.

Q: What made you want to stay with YiP after you came out of prison?
L: I found a role model in Nkosinathi (senior YiP facilitator). I began to think I could reach that level to teach others with empowering words every day. The people at YiP, they're like my family, they understand me here. In 2008, still inside, I asked Nkosinathi how I can keep on with them, but then I was transferred to adult prison at twenty-one. There was no YiP there though. I met Motebang, we became friends, homeboys. He motivated me. If one of us got things from a visit we always shared with eachother. He was in the 26s, but he never pressured me to join. He was just my friend. Three months after my release I met up with a guy who was in Pollsmoor with me. He offered to help me find a job. Brought me to the YiP office here, they remembered me too. That was in September of 2011 and I've been with YiP ever since.

Q: What do you think really counts in helping young men like you who have similar stories with crime, violence and prison? What actually helps change a person's lifestyle choices?
L: I think, you know when someone's doing crime all the time, people where we live (Guguletu township), they look at us like we're nothing. No respect, no trust, no attention. YiP offered that. Those are the most special things those guys need. Give them quality time, listen to them, make them feel special. That is the thing that will change choice of lifestyle.

Chandra Lee Manuel
YiP Post-Release Program Participant
Female, age 23. From Rondebosch. English and Afrikaans-speaking.
Q: In your own opinion, how would you explain the reasons for so many young people here getting involved in crime and going to prison?
C: Drugs, gangsterism, wrong friend or boyfriend get you started. It's up to you, can't blame your friends though, up to you if you make bad choices or not. Mostly in townships and ghettos it's a give-and-take lifestyle, very hard to get out of that. Like giving an axe to a friend when he already has his head on a block.

Q: What was your experience of prison? How did it affect you?
C: I've been to Pollsmoor, horrible place. I went in for train robbing and theft (former pertains to people directly, latter to store merchandise). They say I did the crime so I did the time. Some people think it wasn't enough. I met Melinda (director of YiP Post-Release program), she had great faith in me. Coming to the YiP program inside was just something to do instead of laying in bed.

Q: What does rehabilitation mean to you and what does it actually look like in your own life?
Rehab means a soul's reaching out but you can't help them unless they want to be helped. It takes that extra push to get moving but you have to start with yourself. My first time in prison I was nineteen, only stayed one week, got bailed. It didn't knock my head the way it should have. They say your first time to prison can be a mistake, but the second time you're just stupid. The second time for me, I was twenty, went in for eight months and two years. But I got probation, I'm on 'outside sentence' now. I used to have self-esteem when I was small but it vanished over

time, I don't know why. How can self-esteem vanish? Where does it go? It's hiding. I'm working on finding it.

Q: How do your community members react when you, and your peers, come out of prison? Do they provide any kind of support?
C: There is no community here any more. It's everyone for themselves. People are fighting all the time. I know one thing, when I see my community needs something I want to reach out. I think when you come out of prison you should help out. The 'Coons' (footnote explanation) help keep youngsters out of trouble, mostly with music. It's a District Six tradition (footnote historical relevance). Back then they didn't send you to prison, you used will power, say to yourself 'stand up, have a role model'. Someone you can speak to. Someone who is a 'giver', gives a strong impact. Places and people can't make you happy, at the end of the day it's just you and that give-and-take relationship. Community is a 'taking' relationship. A balance of give and take is ideal, but even too much giving can be dangerous, makes you too dependent. We have to clean up, even in dress and the way we walk and talk, keep that mindset of looking up, not down at the ground.

Q: What do you think is the most helpful way to support young people who want to get out of the gang and prison cycle?
C: Having something to do, because at home you get fidgety, get into trouble. YiP helps keep us out of trouble because we can trust them. They give us a little bit of love but it's a lot of trust to give us. When I came out I had a lump in my throat and a crack in my heart. Having someone believe in me is helping me heal, slowly. What's important to me is that they can forgive me.

Shaun (Surname unknown)
YiP Post-Release Program Participant
Male, age 25
Xhosa and English-speaking
Q: What do you think are some of the main reasons for crime and gang lifestyle among the young people of Cape Town?
S: Ok, well, there's no activities anywhere (sic). No jobs. Us, what we see, we get influenced by these people. No money, no nothing, it's easy to start doing drugs. Maybe if there was some activities, sports or DJ kind of thing, a place to do things. If you want to keep crime low, trap them lids with what they like , keep them busy. Most of us don't have money to take a train to find a job in town (from townships to central Cape Town can take up to an hour and cost 8-12 Rand, $1-1.50 each way). We don't have dreams. Used to have visions, but no anymore when you're just cleaning your neighbor's yard. Peer pressure can make people get stuck, financially too, change is hard without money.

Q: How do you decide to change? What does it look like when you actually put it into action?
S: For me it would be a mentor, someone to talk to. Maybe a Pastor. Someone who helps me face situations that give me challenges. Gives me power to go where the pain is. Where you find the changes. If there's some people I go to when I'm stressed that's nice.Music helps bring me back too.

Q: What's the most helpful part about Young in Prison, for you personally?

S: Well, first I went to another organization called City Mission, it's sort of spiritually focused, and they showed me a lot of tactics there about how to cope and gain more efforts. Change became not as hard as before. I started to believe in myself more, I know I won't go down now. Young in prison helps with finding jobs, how to use a computer, networking, stuff like that. They help to equip you better. YiP is the place you can come to learn.

Q: How did you become involved with YiP when you were in Pollsmoor, and did you join other programs there?
In Juvenile (correctional detention center for youth) we were smoking and puffing away, talking about life. I heard about this program called YiP, but I didn't go. To make a change you have to do it all the time. For some people it's a waste of time. Thereupon I realized, ok, now I need to sort out my life, to equip my life. I started to change my life in prison. I got out of prison but then I went back in because of problems with my parole. A friend of mine inside encouraged me about going to YiP. I had doubts on me still (sic) because to necessarily change in prison you put your life at risk (withdrawal from gang?)

Q: What's the hardest part about making lasting changes in your decision-making and lifestyle choices?
S: You start realizing you're wasting life, opportunities, time. You know you're gonna die any time from this life. You start to realize if you want any success you must do somethings different. I must warn you, most criminals are just thinking about how to get rich fast. Money is the main issue. We get tempted. It's an addiction. I still need guidance in my life. Sometimes when you try to get out of that life they will stab you (gang-members?). They say you're playing dirty, maybe blacklist you to other guys so you cannot find your way out. They think you're selling information on them. It's not easy. You know the hot spots. If someone sees you want to put your life in a straight position you have to pretend to be nice with them. It's a really risk to change your life (sic). You can't hide because they have networks to find you. To stay away from that is hard. But some guys will say, 'you don't belong here, you're making a good choice'.

POLLSMOOR PRISON STAFF (2):
Mzwandile Mqwati, Pollsmoor Coordinator of inmate Programs
Male, Xhosa and English-speaking

Q: Based on your experience and observations, what do you think the main problems are that cause young people to keep coming back to prison?
M: I think it starts at home with violence, poverty, drugs. They lack mentorship from their fathers. Many of them join gangs for identity and security, to fit in. Poverty plays a big part in all that.

Q: What is your role here at Pollsmoor?
M: My role is to coordinate the NGOs, when I recognize the need inside I call organizations to come in (footnote different story from YiP perspective). I make the 'sentence plans' with the different programs each one must complete. Part of my job is to scout them (inmates with needs? Organizations?) It must be effective to suit the needs of each inmate, most get anger management. They all get psychological care, spiritual care and a social worker. These make a pyramid of services (draws a triangle with inmate in the center). This forms rehabilitation. But

it's not effective enough, improvements need to happen. If this was working we wouldn't see such high numbers returning. After Zuma's Amnesty (President called for release of thousands of nonviolent offenders), about 40% returned to prison. We need to revisit the program and really look at the inmates. The program's benefit is reflected in the inmates. We must take into account the barriers, such as language (multiple languages spoken in prison, some do not speak the same languages as warders or program facilitators), unskilled facilitators, listening skills and the individual's level of education.

Q: What kinds of approaches to intervention and rehabilitation seem to you to be engaging the youth? Are there any noticeable trends or patterns?
M: These inmates (ages 18-23) respond more to young people. They like the motivational games, the outside ones the best. Life stories are helpful, when a facilitator can tell about their own life challenges. The ones who used to be inmates here, or were former gang members, they get a lot of respect from these guys, they listen to them, understand them. About seven percent of facilitators are ex-prisoners, I think we need more of that to be effective.

Q; Do you personally think there is actual rehabilitation happening, and if so, what does that look like?
M: Out of ten, you'll only see changes in maybe five. Out of one hundred, eighty-percent are in the Numbers (gang system). Rejection affects them from a young age. They come in with anger and revenge, they don't care about their parents or problems they come from. I think we need more of that to be effective.There need to be more dialogue between inmates and their parents. And parent education. The DCS (Department of Correctional Services) needs to motivate the members with more training. The warders don't have training at all. They could have a more motivating affect on the inmates, but it is depressing work, they get demotivated. There is also a lack of resources, for training and even for inmates. There really are no resources for rehabilitation, that needs to be revisited also. NGOs are using their own money. It's rare that government funds the programs. The old system just punishment but in the early nineties rehab' became recognized as important (sic). The issue of the Numbers gangs used to be for survival but now it's about identity. If you don't join a gang you have a lot of problems from other inmates. If you want to see change for inmates, the biggest obstacle is the Number gangs. It's too big, too much part of their language and life inside and beyond the prison.

Q: In your opinion, what stage of intervention do you think needs more attention in terms of the cycle of recidivism, is it prevention? Intervention/Rehabilitation? Reintegration?
M: Aftercare needs to be tackled, it's very important. The government needs to provide skills-training because it's the most critical thing for inmates after release. Even here (in Pollsmoor) we need to do it but there's no government funding for it. I've been researching but there is nothing provided. I think the government should work hand in hand with NGOs, to communicate and cooperate so when these guys leave prison they can do something with themselves. Aftercare can be very powerful for change, but the way it is now is not enough.

Tshaka Mandisa, Service Coordinator for Juvenile Inmates at Pollsmoor
Female, English and Xhosa-speaking
mandisatshaka@dcs.gov.za

Q: In your personal opinion, what do you think are some of the causes of high crime and incarceration among youth in Cape Town?
T: Mainly their background and upbringing. A lack of parenting skills. Parents are drinking alcohol, doing drugs. Some of them are not there at all for their children. Not just poor children, also rich ones. The rich parents think money can raise their kids. They need parents to listen to them. When a kid is sleeping all day on drugs, the parent doesn't know when they're working all day. The children want to fit in. They're affected by the influences of their environment, and the environment in the townships, like Kylitcha for example, every third house is a shabeen (bar). Drugs are easy to access. What are we telling these kids when their parents are at the shabeen or doing drugs too?

Q: What is your role here at Pollsmoor?
T: My role is to coordinate services (NOTE: same response as Mzwandile although their assigned titles are different and they work in the same section of the prison, both with Medium A and B inmates) I assess the behavior of each inmate to see what they need. Most are learned behaviors, environmental influences. I try to find out their specific issues. I'm trying to transform their mindset to understand that 'I can still become a better person, in any setting', they just need to be shown how. My background is in community development, specializing in youth development.

Q: How do you show them?
T: First I let them identify their own problems. As soon as they acknowledge that there is a problem I ask, 'how can we assist you?' They tell me what their support network is, maybe an aunt or a mentor. They get referred to a social worker who arranges with the family to make plans for them when they come out (of prison).

Q: What is there in the way of aftercare?
T: I'm still busy with that. We need addresses, sometimes hard to get. And service providers in each area to check on them. We make a lot of referrals to NGOs. What we need is a coordination of services to monitor how they are doing after they get released. It would be good to have some collaboration, multidisciplinary team of NGOs, government services and parole officers.

Q: What do you see as being effective in terms of rehabilitation and in what ways do you think there needs to be improvement?
T: I think it's a combination of things. I believe in a system called Life Space Intervention. It's a way to make a program that's held in their own environment, so it's easier to identify the problems. Their natural behavior is evident in their usual environment, for example, we might notice that the bed is too small and that is the reason for his misbehaving because he's not getting enough sleep. Then I must help him accept the situation. Life Space Intervention is about observing.

Q: And what areas of intervention need more support?
T: It's prevention for me. It needs to be pro-active instead of dealing with them after, once they're already used to this (prison?).

COMMUNITY MEMBERS (2):

Marvin Joostenberg, Independent Life-Skills Facilitator in Pollsmoor and Township Communities; Former gang-member and Pollsmoor inmate
Male, English and Afrikaans-speaking
Ajoostenbrg79@gmail.com
Q:What kind of work do you do and how do you interact with youth who are in a cycle of violence, in gang and prison lifestyles?
M: I work with alcohol and drug concerns, focusing on prevention and intervention. I use my own life story with my experience in gangs and in prison here. I show them power-point presentations of how drugs and alcohol affect body parts, the damage caused by their choices, the consequences of their actions. I understand because I started going to prison at fourteen. I know their fears, how they've been hurt. It's not easy to be part of a gang and then come out. But it's your choice. Look at me. I'm here today because of my choices. I didn't know how to read or write when I came here, it's amazing how much I've learned. I know how they get caught in that cycle; I ask them, 'are people who use drugs dumb, tough, cool or clever? I get them to discuss their feelings in different activities, based on life-skills. I want to help. I try to be a role model. I try to understand what they need.

Q: What do you think are some of the main obstacles to rehabilitation?
M: It's gangsterism, inside and outside. Sometimes when they want to get out they just don't know how, not knowing what options he has. One-on-one works a lot. They open up to me when they see we can trust each other. It's all built on a foundation of trust.

Bulewa Madikawe, Guguletu community member
Female, Xhosa and English-speaking
Q: What, in your experience and observations, contributes to young people joining gangs and going to prison repeatedly?
B: Poverty is a real problem. Parents are having children without planning them, when they can't afford to take care of them. My mother was alcoholic. You can rise above it if you make that choice but you have to be consistent with that. There aren't enough skills taught to young people. That's no excuse for crime, but they do need to exercise their brains. The intellect needs nourishing is part of the problem. Poverty affects students and how they learn. Without a uniform or shoes, you're trying to fit in but you feel out of place. Once you start stealing it's easy to become a gangster. My brother used to steal bread to feed us siblings. You start shop-lifting like that and then robbery seems easy.

Q: How do things need to change so young people have different options and can make different choices?
B: you have to give to change, you have to want to, without excuses. I was helping in Pollsmoor after my brother was killed in there in a gang fight, not working with any organization, just thought I could reach out to even just one of them. I wish someone had done that for my brother.

Q: What do you think is needed for that to happen?
B: There needs to be consistency. These restorative justice programs at Pollsmoor, they just come in and open them up but then they leave them, they don't check up on them after when they get out (aftercare). Some of us women here in the community try to help hook them up with jobs, but we can't do everything on our own.

Q: How can the community help support young people coming out of prison?
B: I visited my brother's friends in prison, I tried to remind them who they were, like 'remember when we were kids and it wasn't like this?' I can tell when they're lying to themselves or to me. That's how I reach them. Me and some other ladies made Christmas parties for kids born in the women's ward (footnote; Pollsmoor has a maternity section for pregnant incarcees where they can keep their infants with them). These guys need the people from their community who understand them, they need a wake-up call. It's that or death. The problem is we don't speak up. Pride, for what I don't know. There's a 'mind your own business' attitude here. Sometimes we try to organize to form a group for helping these guys but it's hard because of funding. You have to have official registration to enter the prison as an organization. We want to do something but it's difficult. The problem with these other organizations with their own system is they're wasting their money, they don't know what works. When guys come out of prison they get drugs to sell, then they get a gun so they can do business. They don't have regular work.

Q: How would you envision a remedy to some of these issues, and is anything like that happening now?
B: What we should have is a place to go in when they come from prison. Like women who stay in hospital after giving birth. These guys need jobs, they need help arranging it for them. Also, they don't believe in themselves. You can reach a person in one day but it takes time to change. There's no change for most, they might act like it but then they go back to their old ways. Nothing can happen until members of the community stand up and do things differently. But they need funding and know-how.

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY INTERVIEWS BY YIP STAFF:
*** NOTE: The following interviews are not my own, but were conducted by YiP staff.**
29 June, 2012
Interviewer: Owen Butler
Interviewees: Lusindo and Deon
Owen began by explaining to the two young men, here referred to as D and L, why he wants to ask them some questions. He stated clearly that it was for the purpose of enhancing YiP's impact and looking for 'added value' from any ideas they might have, or changes they might suggest.
O: How are you guys doing today?
Both D and L respond that they are "fine".
O: I want to ask you some questions and you can choose if you want to answer. Any answer is a good one, there is no wrong answer. Young in Prison has been working inside prisons for about ten years now. We want to add value to what we're doing, so we always ask inmates for your input, how do you view the program. What do you see working for the program? Is this program we're offering meaningful and how do you see changes that should be made. We want to be sure that what we're doing here works, that it is actually contributing. There are seven questions. You have time to think and unpack any of the questions. Firstly, was this the first program you had in prison?
L. No, it was not (he did not volunteer the name of the other program, or if it was a previous YiP program).

D. This was my first time in program (sic). I was excited. I was not respect (sic) before, I was temper and anger. (YiP) Show a lot of helpful things; what must I do to leave drugs, alcohol, gangs. How can I achieve the better way in my life. You have a lot of respect to us. I learn a lot. I want to be part of YiP outside to show people how to choose.
O. How do you find the workshops by YiP?
L. I came to listen, how to change our life (sic). People who come from outside to show how you have choices. Learn respect. To share with eachother. To learn to speak with other people. Young in Prison is a good program. It shows us light.
O. Are there any loopholes?
Both shake their heads indicating no.
O. Do you think art is something we should continue with? Does it help you?
L. Art is good. Helps us check our minds. We want to change and our minds get stuck in prison. Painting and other things like schoolwork and the magazine thing (collage).
D. If you are interested you will learn something. If you think about something in art it makes it more real. I find the program is all right for me. I take it serious (sic).
O. Would you want to add ideas to the program?
D. Prayers at the beginning and end. Up to us to do the prayer. To take it seriously, to make us not play around.
L. Homework for between YiP workshops, to keep mind active.
O. How would you describe any changes in yourself since starting this YiP program?
L. I was a strong person, big man (ego?) but no respect to others. Now, I learn to respect, to know yourself, to look in the mirror and ask who am I? What kind of person am I? Focus more on future. I can talk nice now to chief (prison warder). The mind now special.
D. I learned a lot. How to speak with other people. Before I was stressed. When I have YiP program I talk to other guys in the cell about what we learn. Some guys take note of me. I was short temper (sic). I want to be more a soft person, step away from wrong things, away from fighting. This program makes me more soft. I want to teach others. I don't want just to say it, I want to show it. Plenty guys want to come outside (to open prison yard) not for the program but to play, not serious. For me it's an opportunity every time.
O. How about the facilitators, not them personally, but their skills. How do you find them?
L. When I saw those skills I want to do it outside. My life now will start. I want to teach our childrens to do it outside (sic).
D. I learn a lot of those skills. I can take them seriously and do it outside. Like the exercise about the bird, I can show kids outside. Maybe someday I can do my own program outside, with the skills you've shown us. The program will grow bigger with all the skills.
O. Remember the Inside-Out magazine I told you about? Have you ever worked with a magazine before?
(Both respond in the negative.)
O. What three things would you wish to change or add to Young in Prison programs?
L. 1) Make sure at the beginning that the people in the program really want to be there (selection process). 2)Warders should make YiP more a priority, make sure all inmates know about it. 3) For YiP to make meetings with family and inmates, all together.
D. 1) That participants behave more, and take note to facilitator (sic). Make one of the facilitators in charge of discipline and rules. 2) Have more respect inside the workshops, leave that Numbers (gang) stuff outside, be more respectful to the ones who want to be in the program.

3) To take it seriously, not play and joke all the time. They can see a change in me when I take it seriously.
L. We come to learn more education, to focus, to gain skills.
D. When girls come (female YiP volunteers) a lot more guys come to the program but mostly they come just to check out the girls. They disturb the program. They pretend.
O. So we need to look at that, how to work on that. Is there anything else you can think of to add value to YiP's programs?
L. Something I noticed would be good, ask each person about their lives, their families, how they got here. What do you really want in your life? What are your goals? You should tell us to take care of our families and help people. Giving background can help us know each other better.
D. But then people will know my background and maybe use it against me, tease me, or use it as pressure against me. I don't trust everyone.
O. We can start doing smaller groups like this, with one-one-ones, and you can tell me your backgrounds so that over time I will make a group together with the ones I know can trust each other. We want a protective, safe environment with confidence and trust.
L. If I know more about some guy, his life goals, then I can help him and support him if he is weak. If he feel like he can't go right, I can remind him what he really wants. We must know each other. Then outside we can help each other. Be example to others.
O. (Acknowledgement of points made, nodding and reflective). Anything else you can think of?
A. Is it okay if I ask one question? (Affirmation received from all three). Of all the workshop activities, including the open discussions, the specific themes, the activities, the art activities, can you tell us which ones were most helpful to you?
D. I can say all of them, because each thing in a different way helps me to learn.
L. Yes, the same for me. Everything that makes me use my brain is good. Helps me learn to try many new things. I like all.
D. I find this program better than school, because it's more excitement. It focuses on the future, school about the past. I want to start my own program outside to keep learning and learn some kids out of school (sic). They can come to my house after school. I have two rooms at my parents' house we can do that there. There's a light in me now.
L. We need support too when we come out of prison, after school and at home.
O. You can learn to be a peer educator with our post-release program. Melinda (YiP) does that one. You can be trained to do this work, lead these workshops. We look at solutions. You are the solutions. This is positive change. Our objective is to empower you so you can go outside and you continue the work, in your own communities.
D. Thank you Owen, for coming to speak with us.
L. I want to say to you both, stay strong when you do this work. Not everyone wants you to do it, some say it's wasting your time. Please stay strong.

O5 July, 2012
Interviewer: Nkosinathi Buyana
Interviewee: Akhona Siqwana (post-release YiP program participant)
N: Describe your experience with YIP?
A:I met YIP in 2010 between the month of September and October while I was inside prison. I decided to join because I believed in change and I heard a lot of good things about some of the guys that I knew from prison but they were released and were involved with YIP. I met these interesting people and I decided to make friends with them and I joined the program. I always

believe that when you are in prison it's not the end of the world, so I saw that the young in prison people are very friendly and they can help me become a better person. I also saw other young fellow inmates changing they were they do things and I did not want to miss the opportunity because I did not know where my future will end. I enjoyed the first workshop when we were doing the rules and I knew this was my key.

N: What made this experience so special?
A: Very few people get the chance to make good decisions inside prison and successes with them and do want they want. Seeing the story that I wrote in one of YIP magazines was the best motivation for me. And it showed that I could also use that opportunity to reach out to other young people like in other place and showed them my work and helps them make better choices too. This was a great moment for me because I really saw that what Young in Prison was doing is good.

N: Which key factors should be considered effective post release programme?
Allowing guys that come out of prison to become co-facilitators and assist YIP facilitators with their workshops. Learning about computers, how to use computers like facebook and sending emails. You see those things help went you look for a job. In the workshops that YIP does with us we learn how to communicate without using the prison language. Melinda and Lizo are teaching us a lot of things like how to behave and be self disciplined. Like when I came out of prison I knew how to do few things how needed guidance because I could not do it on my own.

N: Are you aware how post-release participants are selected? Do you think it's working?
A: I am not aware how we are selected but I know that if you attended YIP program whilst inside prison you are allowed to be part of YIP outside. I believe that if YIP can use the guys who are outside of prison and have been with YIP longer than six months to recruit other young people from their communities to come and join YIP. In that way the young people would relate better with them.

N: What other successful projects can be done outside?
A: Doing things like Sports, Debates. A lot of young people like to about social politics and lei and mislead one another about important things in life. This is the reason why I think opening a platform through debate where out of prison young people can come together and discuss issues that relate to them and one by them. This will help them interpret these things together and end up making the correct choices.

N: What other activities did you do with YIP outside prison?
I joined life skills workshop with YIP. I went to computer classes. I facilitate programs in Phillipi with YIP. So these things keep me very busy so I have to prepare all the time. If YIP can create more of these opportunities for out of prison youth to help prevent other young people from going to prison.

N: What would you say YIP is successful in doing to help out of prison youth?
YIP supported me and helped me find balance. I now have new friends. I don't think about Robbing people now, even when I'm on the train I still don't think of doing any wrong thing. I

just only wish to get more opportunities to go into prison and teach other young people how to make the right choices.

N: If you had three wished for post release, what would they be?
To have big facilities or venue just for guys coming out of prison. This will serve as a place where out of prison young people will meet and share experiences, advice and skills together to teach each other. In these facilities they will do things like: Performing Arts, Music.

NGO INTERNAL DOCUMENTS

Cape Town: Young in Prison

Need for Individual Focus

"The primary focus is on the individual: him/herself, essentially changing behaviour, habits and perspective. Participants are encouraged to reconcile emotional conflicts as well as promoting self-awareness and personal growth using creative arts and sport. The aim is to create empowered leaders that will effect positive changes not only in their lives but in the lives of others."[236]

Need for Community Focus

"The focus is on the community in which the individual is to return back to after their time in the institution is over. If the community setup, including victims, family, friends and community at large is not prepared, then there will be a breakdown in the transition from incarceration to reintegrating back into society. YiP aims to engage and empower through various projects various stakeholders in the community in order to facilitate proper reintegration of young people and reducing recidivism rates."[237] Young in Prison's program, Memeza, is aimed at including the youth's families and township community in open discussions called 'social dialogues', in an effort to form better understanding of the issues and obstacles, as well as potential strengths in breaking the cycle of recidivism.

Need for Government Focus

"There are internal and external factors within this environment, such as attitudes of officials, other inmates, and policies and laws governing the institution, wherein our participants live their everyday lives and can affect the rehabilitation process. Changing the environment both physically and metaphysically to one in which creativity and individual growth can thrive is essential to the process. Dialogue should be open between the incarcerated individual, administrators in his environment and the community at large, but currently is stifled by the nature of incarceration and the complete disempowerment that accompanies institutionalization. Young in Prison aims to create a platform where youth can participate and help make institutional changes to fight social ills."[238] Young in Prison aims to fulfill these goals by publishing and disseminating recommendations for public-awareness and policy-reform related to supporting youth-development and crime desistence in the process of reintegration.

---

[236] Young in Prison Website. http://www.younginprison.org.za/vision-and-missiion/
[237] IBID
[238] Young in Prison Website. http://www.younginprison.org.za

Problems at the Individual Level

"Siyakhana as a holistic program targets four intervention levels to ensure that young people in conflict with the law are rehabilitated and reintegrated in a manner that will ensure that they do not return to a life of crime and that they become positive and contributing members of society. Young in Prison has designed and incorporated life-skill topics in all workshops so that all participants are given the opportunity to face all issues in their lives in a constructive manner. The workshops focuses on helping young people understanding themselves better, tackle issues of HIV/AIDS, sexuality, gender and gangsterism. Life-skills are the foundation of all the activities, the creative arts and the sports serve as tools that are utilised to monitor and evaluate the progress of each individual participant in the manner in which he/she has dealt with various topics. They are also utilised as a resource for expression and developing their communication skills with themselves, amongst each other and the wider community. Sport together with life-skills is widely used for the enhancement of anger management, relationship building and leadership skills."[239]

Problems at the Community Level

"Resistance of the community to welcome former juvenile offenders due to the prevailing stigma preventing juvenile offender to become self-confident and empowered; Inadequate interventions for juvenile offenders resulting in a lack of life skills as arts and sports are not used as powerful intervention methods; Insufficient knowledge and organizational capacity of cultural grassroots organizations to provide quality and sustainable services for juvenile offenders using arts and sports."[240] "Because of the risk factors that are rife in the communities/townships that juvenile offenders come from, it often follows that many young people growing up in these townships are at risk of also coming into conflict with the law."[241]

Problems at the Government Level

"Lacking participation of juvenile offenders in policy making hinders change and improvement of policies and interventions"[242] The following explanations of issues exacerbating youth crime and incarceration, as cited from 'gray literature' produced by Young in Prison. Related to issues of violence; "South Africa suffers from incredibly high crime and violence rates…. instilled in the population emotional triggers, which have added to the propensity of criminal behaviour and an ethos of violence… youth crime today is a reflection and the evidence of more than 30 years of a culture of violence in the country.

Related to issues of spatial dislocation caused by Apartheid policies, resulting in geographical displacement: "The apartheid regime put our target group at a disadvantage both by sequestering their communities into poverty stricken areas and limiting their opportunities for employment and education." Identifying education as part of the problem; "A lack of a free education system and the debilitating factor of low education and literacy rates within the community and family structure because of both poverty and the systematic oppression of apartheid also influence the high rate of crime." Citing problems with government institutions: "The institutions, whether they are managed by the Department of Correctional Services

239 Young in Prison Website. http://www.younginprison.org.za/siyakhana-building-each-other/
240 Young in Prison Website. http://www.younginprison.org.za/vision-and-missiion/
241 Young in Prison Website: http://www.younginprison.org.za/memeza-shout-it-out/
242 Young in Prison Website. http://www.younginprison.org.za/vision-and-missiion/

(hereinafter referred as DCS) or the Department of Social Development (hereinafter referred as DSD) present many challenges for these youngsters inside the institutions and post-release."

iii. Interventions on the Individual Level

YiP's goal is "(t)o develop and implement high quality and effective programming for youth in conflict with the law, both inside detention centers and after release, in order to facilitate creativity, self-development and overall successful reintegration."Specific goals in each area of focus are advanced through these programs. For 'Individual' development, the projects provide avenues of expression for youth, in which individual voice and agency are encouraged. One such project is *Inside Out*, a series of life-skills workshops facilitated inside detention and prison institutions in Cape Town (including Pollsmoor). The forum for expression is provided through writing, creative arts, poetry, theater and games, introducing topics of discussion that address identity, violence, family, relationships and social dynamics, among other themes. The artwork, writing and poetry generated through these activities are compiled and published as a magazine which is distributed to the public and within the townships where the youth are from. "This magazine serves multiple purposes: it gives program participants a concrete sense of accomplishment, it allows a platform for the voice of the youth to be heard by their families, communities and the nation at large, and as such it is a tool through which we can raise awareness about juvenile justice and the issues youth in prison struggle with".[243]

For further facilitate individual development with access to opportunities and resources, all participants in YiP workshops inside prison who are serving the final six months of their sentences, are invited to join focus groups to discuss concerns and goals for reentering society. "The purpose of this project is to prepare participants mentally for release and set goals to be achieved during their reintegration process. Upon release, members of the program will come to the office for individualized creation of a Post-Release Plan (PRP). Through networking and individual attention, the social workers and counselors will aid our participants in securing employment, training, education, extracurricular activities and community service opportunities"[244] The young men and women, recently released from prison, who participate in this program receive advising and guidance on how to activate their personal goals for education and, or employment. They are supported in self-efficacy through the process of applying to school, for which YiPSA provides funding, and in writing resumes, navigating the job market and applying for work. Additionally, participants have full sponsorship for their travel expenses to and from their homes in various townships, and regular access to computers at the YiP office for research and social networking.

Interventions at the Community Level

"In South Africa, half of the population do not have access to internet, thus Young in Prison… also organize(s) live social dialogues in communities. The idea of this is that it will also include families of the juveniles who are often forgotten to share their stories in a manner that will enable the communities to understand how they are also affected by the situation of their children incarceration. In this manner, communities might be united, juveniles will be enabled and seen as social drivers for change by their own community members and will be accepted more and not labelled…Young in Prison also train former juveniles to be able to facilitate and

[243] http://www.younginprison.org.za/inside-out-the-magazine/
[244] http://www.younginprison.org.za/group-mentoring-and-post-release-support/

share their own stories in workshop settings in various schools in their own townships. The aim on one hand is that their peers will not be prejudiced against them because of their records and on the other hand youth at risk are prevented from taking the easy route of crime based on the experiences shared by former juveniles."

Interventions at the Government Level

YiP's goal in relationship to political efficacy is "(t)o strive for necessary and sustainable change by lobbying government and educating surrounding communities to address stigma and over-incarceration…To develop structures that enable youth in conflict with the law to communicate with their policy makers." Siyakhana Ambassadors are chosen from the participants in the post-release project. Criteria for becoming a Siyakhana Ambassador are: 6 months in Post-Release Project; not dependent on drugs or alcohol; not committing any crimes; passionate about sharing personal stories and youth-development; social entrepreneur spirit. The concept of 'Siyakhana', ('building eachother') asserts the belief that "…young juvenile voices should be heard by policy makers. The goal in doing this is that if they are heard and are given a platform to share their actionable views, they will become active members of the country. They are less likely to re-offend as their social faculties will be raised and they will also be incorporated in the main activities that are afforded all youth thus also contributing to the future stability of South Africa, socially and economically."[245]

In New Orleans:

1. Young Adults Striving for Success (YASS):

Launched in 2008, under the auspices of the Juvenile Justice Project, the twenty five core members of Young Adults Striving for Success (YASS) meet weekly to develop leadership skills, increase their knowledge of civic issues, and participate in community improvement campaigns, such as increased funding for recreation, opportunities for formerly incarcerated youth and alternative security practices in the New Orleans schools. Their goal is to seek to uplift the perspectives and needs for youth, and particularly low-income youth of color. YASS works to combat the negative media stereotypes of youth in the city, and project positive examples of young people working to make real change.[246] Initiated by youth who wanted to meet separately from other community campaigns, they have doubled in size from ten to twenty, have instituted organizational agreements and engaged in grassroots fundraising efforts themselves. YASS members have joined with five other youth groups to form the New Orleans Youth Organizing Collaborative, which consists of LatiNOLA, Kids Rethink New Orleans Schools, Fyre Youth Squad, and the Vietnamese American Youth Leadership Alliance (VAYLA). Each group represents their respective communities and builds the capacity of youth to take leadership in the city as a whole. [247]

---

245 http://www.younginprison.org.za/siyakhana-ambassadors/

246 The mission of YASS is to "provide an open and positive space that allows youth to reach their full potential. The three goals of the group are to 1) foster leadership skills 2) to bring awareness to the issues that face youth in New Orleans and 3) to work as a collective internally and externally to bring about positive social change in our community."

247 Stand Up For Eachother! Website: http://sufeo.org/?page_id=48

2. Youth Empowerment Project (YEP):

Founded in 2004, the first and still the only juvenile re-entry program for youth offenders in the New Orleans region, the Youth Empowerment Project provides wrap-around services available to all New Orleans youth, and especially youth of color in the most violent and poverty-torn neighborhoods. YEP's Mission is to improve self-efficacy and social connectivity for these youth.

YEP's founders were former colleagues from the Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana's Post Disposition Project with firsthand knowledge of the lack of services for formerly incarcerated children, and the high recidivism and early death rates of this population.[248]

They started YEP because there were no programs in New Orleans or the state of Louisiana that provided re-entry services for youth returning home from juvenile facilities.

3. Kids Rethink New Orleans Schools (Rethink)

Rethink is a youth-driven leadership development program mobilizing youth and adult supporters toward education reform. It was formed in 2006 by a group of community organizers, educators, artists and media experts who mobilized twenty middle-school students in response to concerns about the sub-standard quality of education for youth of color in New Orleans, and the trends towards school-based arrests under zero-tolerance laws[249]. The group calls for public education reform:

> We are a group of students in New Orleans who want to rethink and rebuild our schools after Hurricane Katrina. Our vision is simple: a great education for every kid in our city, no matter the color of their skin, what neighborhood they stay in or how much money their parents make. No one deserves a voice in rebuilding New Orleans schools more than the students who go to these places every single day. That means us![250]

4. Shell-Shocked: The New Orleans Youth Story:

Independent media has contributed to public awareness and a call to action around issues of youth violence, incarceration in New Orleans. In DATE, Film-maker John Richie produced a documentary called *Shell Shocked: The New Orleans Youth Story* to highlight the perspectives of African American youth from inner-city and outlying parishes of New Orleans on growing up in a violent environment. The film-maker looked to local groups such as the Youth Empowerment Project, and the Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana to develop this documentary.[251]

Addressing a Need for Community Development & Networking

5. The Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana (JJPL)

JJPL is a non-profit NGO founded in 1997 to provide legal representation for youth in the adult prison system and advocate for policy reform in the juvenile justice system. JJPL also offer six community-development programs for youth of a diversity of racial backgrounds and a range

---

[248] By providing intensive case management, mentoring and educational services to at-risk New Orleans youth, we will strengthen each young person's capacity to successfully connect with his or her family and community and lay the foundation for a healthy transition to adulthood."
Youth Empowerment Project website: http://www.youthempowermentproject.org/about-yep/our

[249] Institute for Democratic Education in America website: http://democraticeducation.org/index.php/library/resource/kids_rethink_new_orleans_schools/

[250] Rethink Schools Website: http://www.therethinkers.com/

[251] Boyles, Brian. Documentary on Culture of Death Gives City's Youth A Voice. *The Lens,* June 4, 2012. Web. http://thelensnola.org/2012/06/04/shell-shocked-screening/

of ages, from middle school to young people in their early twenties.[252] They believe that "we won't see the change necessary in the juvenile or criminal justice systems if we aren't building the political power of those most disenfranchised– poor communities and in particular communities of color. It's why working with and empowering youth is so important to us in our work, as well as our partnerships with organizations like FFLIC, Voice of the Ex-Offender (VOTE), and members of other youth organizing groups in New Orleans."[253]

6. Liberty's Kitchen:

Liberty's Kitchen is a non-profit organization dedicated to transforming the lives of at-risk youth by building self-sufficiency and independent living in a supportive community where they learn life, social and employability skills in a culinary setting. Liberty's Kitchen supports its programs with teaching-focused businesses: These businesses are designed to give students practical experience while helping to sustain the programs. Private donations and community grants form the balance of the organization's funding needs."[254] The vision of Liberty's Kitchen is to give disadvantaged youth the chance for an independent, inspired and productive life and a sense of purpose, as well as developing the confidence, skills, tools and opportunities to thrive in gainful employment. Access to the resources to deal with those issues which have held them back – poverty, homelessness, drug and alcohol abuse, arrested educational achievement and/or participation in the justice system..[255]

7. Safe Streets, Strong Communities:

This organization focuses on effecting positive change in community-development, law enforcement and juvenile justice, drawing attention to the disproportionate inequalities experienced in these areas by people of color. Safe Streets, Strong Communities has developed eight separate campaign projects to advance these goals. They are *Orleans Parish Prison Reform, Stand Up For Eachother! Campaign, Communities Creating Healthy Environmnets, Policing Reform, Independent Police Monitor, Ceasefire Campaign, Decriminalization of Culture and Indigent Defense Reform.*

Safe Streets, Strong Communities is a community-based organization that campaigns for a new criminal justice system in New Orleans, one that creates safe streets and strong communities for everyone, regardless of race or economic status…(envisions a society in which): public resources are not squandered on prisons and instruments of social control but instead are invested in children and families in the form of sound affordable housing and in quality education for every child to the highest level that each wishes to attain; For all people to have equal opportunity to participate in the economy in a meaningful way and to share in the nation's wealth.[256]

---

[252] The Juvenile Justice Project offers six programs to meet these needs, they are; *Schools First! LGBTQ Project, Kids in The Adult System, Youth Organizing, Statewide Juvenile Justice Reform,* and *New Orleans Criminal Justice Reform.* Seven staff members and a nine-person board of directors run the organization. Funding comes from nineteen grant-sources provided by larger, national non-profits and philanthropic organizations as well as from individual donors.

[253] From the Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana website; http://jjpl.org.

[254] Liberty's Kitchen website: http://www.libertyskitchen.org/index.php?section=1

[255] Liberty's Kitchen website: http://www.libertyskitchen.org/index.php?section=2

[256] Safe Streets, Safe Communities website: http://safestreetsnola.org/police_reform.html

Addressing a Need for Public Policy & Legislation Reform

8. Families and Friends of Louisiana's Incarcerated Children (FFLIC):

"Every year hundreds of children are abused and neglected in Louisiana's youth prisons, only to be returned to our communities with few skills, poor education and broken spirits. But the families and friends of these children are no longer silent! We have united to demand that the systems that are supposed to help and care for our children, do their job and stop being a force of oppression against our families and our communities…We believe we are the 'experts' on what our communities need and that solidarity and collective action are our most powerful tools in our struggle for self-determination and justice for our children and our families"[257].

FFLIC was created in response to horrifying stories of abuse and neglect in Louisiana's secure-care facilities. Louisiana's harsh and punitive juvenile justice system has targeted and mistreated Louisiana's youth. FFLIC advocates for the children who are lost in this abusive system. FFLIC strives to give parents a voice when their children are taken from them. FFLIC's goal is to change the practices and culture in these facilities so that they no longer mimic the adult prison system and instead provide a nurturing and rehabilitative environment.[258]

9. Voice of the Ex-Offender:

VOTE is a grassroots, membership based organization founded and run by Formerly Incarcerated Persons (FIPs) in partnership with allies dedicated to ending the disenfranchisement and discrimination against of FIPs. We believe that FIPs, their loved ones, allies and communities can use their experiences and expertise to improve public safety in New Orleans. Through civic engagement and training FIPs in the legal system, policy and legislation as well as other job and leadership skills VOTE will create a strong group of reformers to lead the transformation of our city's criminal justice system.[259] This is a critical forum for civic and political identify formation for youth offenders returning to their communities from prison.

[257] Families and Friends of Louisiana's Incarcerated Children: http://www.fflic.org.
[258] IBID
[259] Voice of the Ex-Offender Website: http://vote-nola.org/aboutus

PHOTOGRAPHS

Pollsmoor Prison: Section ‘Medium A’ for Single-Cell Juvenile Male Inmates

Pollsmoor Prison: Juvenile Inmates Participating in YiP Creative Arts Activity

Pollsmoor Prison: Juvenile Inmates Participating in YiP Creative Arts Activity

Pollsmoor Prison: Juvenile Inmate Participating in YiP Creative Arts Activity

Social Dialogue Event: Formerly Incarcerated Youth Speaker

Social Dialogue Event: Formerly Incarcerated Youth Speaker with Community Members

YiP Post-Release Program Participants

Youth representative of Rethink Schools, New Orleans
(Source: http://sfbayview.com/2011/new-orleans-young-rethinkers-take-on-candy-bars-prison-bars/)

Youth-Advocate Protester, New Orleans
(Source: http://www.brown-pr.com/2012/01/brownprapplaudswomack-2/)

Protest against the Youth Study Center, New Orleans
(Source: http://neworleans.indymedia.org/news/2008/02/12087.php)

"The Youth Study Center, originally built in 1959, remains as the lone transitional facility for arrested youth ages 8-16 who are awaiting trial. Despite the severe damage suffered by the center in the storm, it reopened in July 2006 with 12 beds.

Speaking for her peers with Fyre Youth Squad(FYS), high schooler Jessica Womack addressed other concerns with the facility in the post-Katrina landscape. "Centers such as these also do not have the capability to deal with special needs, disabilities and sometimes depression that happens in this post-Katrina society. FYS and I believe that this facility should be replaced by a better, progressive alternative that lives up to its name," Womack said. "[The center] should be equipped with teachers, books, recreation rooms and other ways to positively spend time. Children should be educated not incarcerated." □

□Robert Goodman, a community organizer with Safe Streets/Strong Communities, spent time at the Youth Study Center decades ago. □□"I am here today to stand in solidarity with Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana and children who have been forced to live in the dehumanizing conditions," Goodman emphasized. "When I was a boy in the late 60's I also had the unfortunate experience of being in the Youth Study Center. There were no educational programs and we spent most of our time locked up in our cells. From what these young people are saying, things have not changed in over forty years."

Amid a brass band and signs demanding the closure of the Youth Study Center, many residents danced, voiced support or even joined the protest second line—this most treasured cultural call to action. The route from Willie Hall Park to John Mac Senior High School explicitly brought together the two ends of the catch phrase "school-to-prison pipeline," wherein children are criminalized in schools and led directly to the gates of juvenile or adult prison. □□From this symbolic march, the lawsuit and its promoters press forward to garner public and political support while chanting "Shut Down the YSC!"

Protesting Police Brutality, New Orleans
(Source: http://louisianajusticeinstitute.blogspot.com/2010_05_01_archive.html)

“For the past year, and then most frequently in the last two months, New Orleans advocates and concerned citizens have been meeting to discuss ways in which to involve the US Department of Justice Office of Civil Rights in systemic reform of the New Orleans Police Department. During a meeting on April 14, 2010, a group of advocates gathered at the LJI Office to discuss a campaign strategy for requesting U.S. Department of Justice intervention for the monitoring and supervision of the New Orleans Police Department.

On Tuesday, May 4, over two dozen organizations signed a letter addressed to Mr. Thomas E. Perez, Esq. Assistant Attorney General - Office of Civil Rights, requesting that the United States Department of Justice intervene in the reform of the NOPD through utilization of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, which authorizes the Department of Justice to file civil lawsuits against law enforcement agencies that engage in a pattern of violating people's rights and obtain a court order to monitor and reform them.

Less than 24 hours later, Mayor Landrieu met with 16 of these leaders and 6 attorneys from the US Department of Justice, and then announced that he has invited the Justice Department to come to New Orleans and perform an assessment of the NOPD and the criminal justice system.

None of this work would have been possible without the sacrifices and organizing committed organizing of criminal justice advocates and concerned New Orleans residents who have worked together for years. Moreover, this final community push for a judicially binding consent agreement could not have happened without the courageous leadership of those 26 groups and equal number of individuals who signed the May 4 letter to Mr. Perez. Most important, this effort marks a tremendous victory for community organizers, who work tirelessly to insure everyone's voice is heard when public policy is made.”